The Communist

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THE 24th SOVIET ANNIVERSARY
AN EDITORIAL

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WAR
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

EARL BROWDER—CHAMPION OF U. S.-SOVIET COLLABORATION
MAX WEISS

THE ARMY AND THE PEOPLE
JOHN GATES

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EDITORIALS

THE 24TH SOVIET ANNIVERSARY

THE twenty-fourth anniversary of the founding of the Soviet state is being celebrated at a most crucial period in the history of mankind. It is celebrated at a time when the interests of democracy, of the freedom and independence of nations, of the very future of humanity, are being defended on bloody battlefields against the enslaver and destroyer of nations—Hitlerite Germany. It is celebrated at a time when the Soviet front of this world-wide life-and-death struggle for the military defeat and destruction of German fascism represents the advance line of defense of the freedom and independence of all nations and peoples. It is celebrated at a time when a powerful anti-Hitler front of freedom-loving peoples, headed by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States, is mustering its tremendous resources to insure the defeat of the fascist beast—the most vicious and dangerous enemy of all mankind.

In celebrating this great anniversary, and in the growing realization that the heroic defenders of the Soviet front are the advance fighters for the freedom and independence of the United States, the American people must hasten the achievement of national unity, exerting all efforts *to render speedy and ever increasing aid to the Soviet Union,* entering more closely and intimately into the world coalition of freedom-loving peoples to wipe the Nazi menace off the face of the earth.

The Soviet people are bearing at the present time the whole brunt of the common struggle against the fascist plunderers and enslavers. "On the outcome of this battle," wrote *The Bolshevik,* organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "rests the fate not only of Paris, London and Warsaw, but also of Washington, New York and all mankind." And this is a plain statement of fact. From which follows that the American people must do everything in their power to bring speedy and adequate assistance to the Soviet Union. They must do everything necessary to place into the common struggle the full power of the United States, to defend the freedom and independence of our nation, to defend and preserve our democratic heritage.

In celebrating the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Soviet state, let us remember the heroic struggles of our forefathers in 1776 in securing and establishing the independence of our nation. Let us also remember the glorious struggles of our people for the Bill of Rights and the democracy of our country. Let

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us remember furthermore the historic fight of our people for the unity and democracy of the American nation in 1861. These great American traditions are a source of inspiration to our people today—to achieve national unity for the defense of the United States; to fight jointly with the Soviet, British, Chinese and all freedom-loving peoples for the destruction of the fascist enslavers; to demonstrate solidarity and greetings to the Soviet Union on the occasion of the twenty-fourth anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution which created the Soviet state, laying the foundation of a new life of freedom and prosperity for all working people and establishing true national freedom and fraternity.

One of the most important achievements of the great October Socialist Revolution was the destruction of the "prison of nations" which the tsarist regime had established for the nationalities of the old Russian Empire. The revolution delivered a mortal blow at the reactionary ideology which divides people into "superior" and "inferior" races and justifies the right of the former to enslave and plunder the latter—an ideology which has become the essence of fascism in its bloody career of brigandage, murder and oppression. The October Revolution, abolishing the class rule of the capitalists and landholding aristocracy, has established the Soviet state and system, which did away with all forms of national oppression, building up mutual confidence and collaboration among all the peoples of the Soviet state.

Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, always stressed the idea that the working class could not liberate itself without liberating the oppressed nations. And this idea triumphed in the October revolution. For the first time in human history enslaved and degraded peoples rose to the position of truly free and equal nations, working peacefully in fraternal collaboration in the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The idea that the working class, on the road to the socialist transformation of society, must bring about the abolition of all forms of national enslavement and oppression—this idea is a major principle in the teachings of Lenin and Stalin. This principle rests upon the realization that national enslavement is incompatible with democracy and civil liberties, that it presents a barrier to all progress, that it stands in the way of all developments to the complete fulfillment of democracy and the liberation of the working class. When, therefore, the working class is facing a regime of national enslavement, or the threat of such enslavement, the immediate and most urgent task of the working class is to help unite the nation for the achievement and security of its national freedom and independence. In such historic situations, labor's task is to serve as the very backbone and driving force of the nation's struggle against its enslavers and oppressors, against the enemies that threaten the nation's freedom and independence.

It is in such a historical situation that the American people are today. Hitlerite Germany threatens our national freedom and independence. The Nazis are already wag-

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ing war against our national security and vital interests. That is why the greatest need today is for national unity, for a national front against Hitler, for a united struggle with all freedom-loving peoples to destroy the fascist menace. That is why American labor, and all working people, are called upon today to become an aggressive and decisive force of our national unity, of the developing national front against Hitlerite Germany. That is why, in the field of so-called domestic policy, the main efforts of our people must be directed toward combating and isolating the reactionary, pro-Hitler appeasement forces of the bourgeoisie as well as those elements that seek to conciliate the appeasers.

The Soviet State, created by the October Revolution twenty-four years ago, not only realized in full the democratic principle of national equality and freedom, but also built up that state to defend its independence and the national freedom of its peoples. In the light of the present titanic struggles of the Soviet people against the fascist invaders, it is easier to understand what the Soviet State sought to accomplish and did accomplish through the Five-Year Plans of socialist construction for the interests of national defense.

It should be recalled that the Soviet state took over from the old regime a poverty-stricken, industrially backward and ruined country. The alternatives facing the young Soviet state were these: either to build up in the shortest possible time a modern industry and agriculture on the basis of socialism, or to remain industrially weak and culturally backward. In the former case, the peoples of the Soviet state would not only progress and prosper but would be enabled to defend her freedom and national independence from foreign aggression. In the latter case, poverty would be the lot of the people and their country would stand disarmed and unable to defend the freedom and independence of the Soviet state. But to achieve the former, that is, a modern industry and agriculture *in the shortest possible time,* it was necessary for the people to make sacrifices, to practice the severest economy in expenditures on food, clothing, schools, for the accumulation of the necessary means to create a modern industry. The Soviet state had no other means and no other way. And the Soviet people, led by the great Stalin, chose that way. And labor, the working class, was the backbone and driving force of this national drive for the salvation of the country.

There were people inside the Soviet Union, and also outside, who thought the sacrifices too heavy, who tried to subvert the Soviet of difficulties. There were also those who tried to subvert the Soviet state from the path of industrialization and of the mechanization of agriculture by conspiracy and treason. But the Soviet people, inspired by the working class and its Communist Party, followed the leadership of Stalin for the achievement of prosperity, rising culture and national security.

What chance would the Soviet

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Union have had against the present onslaught of the fascist invaders if it had not followed the path of intensive development of a modern industry and agriculture on the basis of socialism? To ask the question is to answer it. It was through the Five-Year Plans of socialist construction that the Soviet state has acquired a powerful modern industry and agriculture. This eliminated the age-old poverty and backwardness of the people inherited by the Soviet state from the old regime. It created the conditions for the steady improvement of the material and cultural position of the masses, leading to an ever rising prosperity. It gave the Soviet state and people the modern means of national defense, and an army capable of using these means of defense—planes, tanks, ships and guns—to meet effectively just such a situation as has arisen from the fascist invasion of the Soviet Union.

By creating the Soviet state twenty-four years ago, the great October Socialist Revolution established the political conditions necessary for the progress of the country on a socialist basis. It made possible the conception and realization of the Five-Year Plans. It realized the great principle of national freedom, equality and fraternity. It thus ensured for all working people labor in freedom and prosperity. It created the means and equipment for national defense.

And all of this is now placed in the service of the greatest liberating struggles ever waged by mankind—the struggle for the destruction of German fascism. All of these historic achievements of the October Revolution and of the Soviet state created by it are today serving the cause of freedom for the whole of humanity, for all freedom-loving peoples. They are serving the cause of the freedom and independence of the American people—the cause of our national defense. Comrade Molotov has given expression to a simple but great truth when he said:

"The time will come when the peoples will pronounce their weighty judgement on that mission of liberation which the Soviet Union, under the guidance of that great leader, Comrade Stalin, now performs, not only in the interests of the emancipation of the peoples of Europe, but in the interests of the freedom of the peoples of the whole world, and which already today is so widely recognized by the representatives of the friendly countries whose support we deeply understand and cherish." (Closing Address at Moscow Conference of the United States, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R.).

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE AND AMERICAN NATIONAL DEFENSE

THE Moscow conference of the representatives of the United States, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. has already visibly strengthened the anti-Hitler front and has thus contributed greatly to the strengthening of American national defense: The task now is to insure *the most rapid* fulfillment of the decisions of the conference. And in this, the people and government of

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the United States are playing a decisive role.

We can see in this conference a clear demonstration of the fact that the people of the United States, as well as all the other freedom-loving peoples that are struggling against Hitler, are determined to prosecute the fight to the end, to the complete destruction of Hitler and Hitlerism. In this lies the great significance of the Moscow conference. Its significance lies in the fact that the people of Great Britain and the United States have recognized the decisive importance to their own national defense and freedom of the heroic fight of the Soviet Union for the defeat of Hitler Germany, and are determined that the efforts of these three great powers be combined for the successful conclusion of the common struggle.

The American representative, W. Averell Harriman, speaking also for Lord Beaverbrook, declared that "It was decided at the conference to place at the disposal of the Soviet government practically every requirement for which the Soviet military and civilian authorities asked," and that "The Soviet government supplies Great Britain and the United States with large quantities of raw materials urgently required in these countries." It is clear that the task is one of pooling together the tremendous resources of these three mighty countries and of apportioning them in such a way as to insure the most successful struggle against the Nazi enslavers and their eventual destruction. This is called for imperatively by the most vital interests of American national defense, by the interests of the independence and freedom of the United States.

To realize the speediest and adequate aid to the Soviet Union is today *an American national objective.* It is a basic and integral part of our national policy and of American national defense. It is today the concern and duty of every loyal American. When, therefore, the pro-Hitlerites and appeasers (the "America Firsters," the Lindberghs, Hoovers, Wheelers, Coughlins, Norman Thomases, etc.) seek to obstruct aid to the Soviet Union, they are obstructing and betraying American national defense. And when certain other groups feel called upon, for whatever reasons, to placate and conciliate these pro-Hitler appeasers by compromises on the vital need of aid to the Soviet Union, these conciliators are thereby compromising and weakening American national defense. They are helping, not the nation, but its betrayers.

What are the keystones of our national policy today? The main objective of the national policy is clear. It is the military defeat of Hitler Germany and the destruction of Nazi tyranny. This objective has received the support of the overwhelming majority of our people. The only opposition to this national objective comes from our potential Quislings, from the pro-Hitlerites and appeasers, these being assisted by the conciliators and compromisers. Hence, the nation is clearly united on the main objective of our national policy.

The nation is already united on

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that objective because our people have come to realize that Hitlerite Germany threatens to enslave us; as it is enslaving the conquered peoples of Europe; as it threatens to enslave the British, the Soviet and all other peoples. But the American people are determined not to become slaves. They have demonstrated time and again that they are determined to save themselves from this fascist threat, to save our national freedom and independence, to defend the United States and its democracy. On this national objective the appeasers stand in opposition to the nation.

But something very important is still missing in the attitude of our people to the national objective. It is insufficient realization on the part of many loyal Americans that the situation is urgent and menacing; that the threat of fascist enslavement is very close to us and is moving nearer every day; that it is an *immediate threat* we are facing and not something very far off; that the fascist threat to our nation means *literal* national destruction and *literal* enslavement; that the defenders of Leningrad and Moscow are defending our own towns and cities and farms, in every respect. These realizations are still missing in their full impact upon our national thinking and feeling. And this it is that gives the "America Firsters," the pro-Hitlerite appeasers, their chance and opportunity to continue to weaken and betray national defense. It is this lack of sufficient realization of the immediate and full menace of the fascist threat to our nation and its democracy that enables the appeasers to make headway in obstructing national defense and national unity, by demoralizing sections of our people from below and by feeding tendencies of conciliation to appeasement from on top.

The interests of national defense require urgently that the appeasers be isolated and decisively defeated along with their conciliators. For this purpose the American people must be helped to a fuller realization that Hitler Germany seeks *world* conquest and the *enslavement* of the United States, as well as all other peoples and nations. It is necessary continually to hold up before the eyes of our people the devastating nature of Hitler's rule in the conquered countries; the systematic plunder and robbery of their peoples; the physical extermination of their national leaders and all oppositionists; the planned destruction of their national economies, culture and all elementary rights; the step-by-step destruction of their national existence; the particular bestiality of Hitler's rule with respect to labor; in short, the complete enslavement of the conquered peoples by the "master race." Give the Nazis the chance—which the appeasers are trying to do—and this is Hitler's program for the United States and for the American people.

More than that: Hitler Germany is not only threatening us with such enslavement *but is already attacking* vital national interests of the United States. The Nazis are seeking to get control over the strategic approaches to this hemisphere

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(Dakar, the Azores) and they are continuing and intensifying their fifth-column conspiracies in Latin America. By doing so, Hitler Germany is actually attacking the security of this hemisphere and the vital national interests of all its peoples. Hitler's war in the Atlantic, his attacks upon our shipping, his attempts to stop American aid to the countries resisting his aggression, thus seeking to nullify a fundamental policy of our national defense—all these are warlike acts on the vital interests of the United States and of the nations of Latin America.

Hitler is waging war against us by his forcible attempts to seize control of the seas. The appeasers are trying to represent this as a mere matter of "blockade" by a belligerent. But this is not so. First, because this particular belligerent is the most menacing enemy of our nation and country. Secondly, this belligerent is seeking *domination of the seas* as a means of securing domination over the Western Hemisphere, as a means of enslaving the peoples of this hemisphere. Nothing less than that. Hitler's "blockade" measures plus his seizure and contemplated seizures of Atlantic bases, from Norway to Africa, are motivated not only by his war in Europe, but also by the unfoldment of his war against this hemisphere and against the United States. The Nazis are now seeking to complete their control of the east shore of the Atlantic in preparation for their attack to secure dominance over the west shore of the ocean. And this is why they are waging war against the freedom of the seas. Thus, when the appeasers seek to block American efforts to maintain the freedom of the seas; when they oppose the arming of our merchantmen; when they obstruct the sailing of our ships to belligerent ports; when they attack the nation's policy of using the navy for keeping the Nazi pirates out of the sea lanes; when they do these things, the appeasers and their conciliators are not only seeking to block American aid to the nations resisting Hitler aggression but they are also assisting Hitler to secure control of the seas and, hence, eventually of the Western Hemisphere.

More particularly the appeasers are now concentrating on obstructing the free, speedy and adequate flow of American aid to the Soviet Union. They are placing obstacles on the road of the full and rapid realization of the decisions of the three-power conference in Moscow, and their conciliators are again ready with "compromises." The American people and the American government have to make it plain that they will not allow any such dangerous sabotage of our national defense. The American people must be helped to gain quickly a fuller realization that the Soviet Union is today bearing the full brunt of the Nazi onslaught and that the defenders of the Soviet front are literally defending the Western Hemisphere and the United States. He who sabotages the full, free and rapid flow of aid to the Soviet Union sabotages the national defense of America.

In this connection, it is necessary

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to observe that the attempt of the appeasers to create an issue against the Soviet Union on the question of freedom of religion is a form of sabotage of national defense. Every informed person knows that in reality there exists no such issue. As the President stated in his first public remark on the question, and as was subsequently substantiated by many authoritative sources, freedom of religion in the Soviet Union is a fact—a fact that is embodied in and guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution. When in the face of this fact, the appeasers try to raise an issue against the Soviet Union on this question, which is an attempt to raise an *artificial* issue, this can have only one meaning. It is to obstruct aid to the Soviet Union, to block the realization of our national policy as demonstrated by Harriman at the Moscow conference in accord with our government's previous declarations. It is to sabotage the fight against the Nazis. Conciliation and "compromise" with such attempts of the appeasers may seriously compromise and endanger our national defense.

To develop and realize in full the decisions of the Moscow conference for pooling the resources of the three powers and allocating them in the best interests of the common fight against Hitler, which means at the present time full and speedy aid to the Soviet Union, is the most urgent and vital immediate task of our national defense. Nothing can be allowed to interfere with that.

This means first of all production and delivery of planes, tanks, guns, general equipment and certain raw materials. The battle of production has to be unfolded with the greatest rapidity. In this battle, labor must display the greatest initiative, creativeness and exertion. In every plant and in every industry engaged in defense production, labor's experience, enthusiasm and driving force must be given full opportunity to make the maximum contribution to the national effort in the battle of production. At the same time, every measure must be taken *to provide the necessary shipping facilities and to insure the delivery to the Soviet Union* of an ever growing supply of the planes, tanks, guns and raw materials that our industries will produce for the Soviet front.

Government policy is already directed toward a full war mobilization of our national economy. What is required is a more rapid tempo. What is required is a doing away with the attitude of "business as usual" which, in many cases, is only a mask for conciliation to appeasement, where it is not outright pro-Hitlerism. What is required, finally, is close cooperation between labor and production management in the actual process of defense production, and a true *national* policy for the solution of all those difficult problems ("priority" unemployment, for example) which have arisen in the course of industrial war mobilization.

Production for defense, for all battlefronts against the Nazi hordes, especially for the Soviet front which now holds the advance line of struggle, this is now a major immediate task of our nation. Production and

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delivery. And this means full mobilization of our shipping facilities, the arming of our merchantmen, the sailing of our ships to belligerent ports, the utmost prosecution of the struggle now in progress to keep the seas free from Nazi pirates. It means also closer and more intimate participation of the United States in the great anti-Hitler front, demonstrated by the Moscow conference, and the throwing of the full weight of our country into the balance for the opening of a new front in western Europe.

AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE ANTI-HITLER FRONT

THE United States, together with the Soviet Union and Great Britain, already stands at the head of a great front of freedom-loving peoples who are rising against the Nazi tyranny, determined to wipe this curse of humanity off the face of the earth. Our country, true to its glorious democratic traditions and in defense of its national existence, is already participating in a leading capacity in a combination of powerful states—the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain—whose joint efforts in the common struggle must and will result in victory.

And in order to achieve this end, the freeing of humanity and of our own nation from the Nazi menace, the efforts of these three great states, which are heading the liberating struggle of all freedom loving peoples, *must be joined more closely, more thoroughly, more intimately.* Only thus will the full and inexhaustible power of this combination be brought to bear upon the crushing and destruction of the Nazi menace. Only thus will Hitler be made to feel the full crushing force of the freedom-loving peoples. Only thus can we defend successfull the security, freedom and independence of the United States.

This should be obvious. Yet we find people saying that the United States can win the battle against Hitler by going into the fight only part of the way, by assuming only "limited" engagements. Walter Lippmann, for example, has recently given expression to such ideas. And this is somewhat incomprehensible, considering that Mr. Lippmann believes in the national objective of defeating Hitler and is a strong advocate of defending the Western Hemisphere by defending the *approaches* to this hemisphere.

When Wheeler, Hoover, Lindbergh & Co. say they are in favor of "confining" our defense policies to the defense of the Western Hemisphere *as against* our national objective of helping to defeat Hitler *wherever* he is attacking and enslaving other nations and peoples, most informed Americans now understand that these appeasers merely *pretend* to favor hemisphere defense against Hitler; that in reality they are in favor of letting Hitler win and then "come to terms" with him in the manner of Quisling and Darlan. Which means to surrender the Western Hemisphere to the Nazis.

Why is this so? Because to defend the Western Hemisphere in the face of the Nazi movement for world conquest means to defend the ap-

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proaches to this hemisphere: the high seas, the strategic naval and air bases, the eastern shore of the Atlantic. Haltingly and hesitatingly, yet our national policy is moving in the direction of defending these objectives, and Mr. Lippmann is in favor of it. But we can never succeed in achieving these objectives by following a policy of "limited" engagements, by going into the fight only part of the way. Hitler already controls a goodly portion of the eastern shore of the Atlantic in Norway, Belgium and France. He is seeking to extend this control to Spain and to Africa. If he holds what he has and secures what he is after, he will have won all of the decisive approaches to this hemisphere.

It follows, therefore, that our country must do everything in its power to prevent Hitler Germany from extending its control over the eastern shore of the Atlantic. This means that our country must do all in its power to help dislodge Hitler from control of France's Atlantic shore, and Belgium's and Norway's. Which means to defeat and crush the Nazi tyranny and aggression in Europe.

The Soviet front is now the advance line of struggle for this objective; that's what the Soviet people are fighting for—to crush and defeat Hitler. That is what the British people are fighting for and the rising nations of the conquered countries. That is what *our* country is fighting for, in combination with Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Can this combination win the battle against Hitler by "limited" engagements? Can they remove the menace of Hitlerism by going into the fight only part of the way? No; they cannot. They must go into the fight all the way. The Soviet people are doing so. The British people want to do so. The American people have to do so, too, in order to free the United States, the Western Hemisphere and the rest of the world from the menace of fascist enslavement.

America's role in the great anti-Hitler front of the freedom-loving peoples is a leading role. We are in this front as a powerful country determined to bring about the destruction of Nazi tyranny and the liberation of the world from this menace. And this role we shall fulfill only by putting into the scales of victory over Hitler all the tremendous resources and power of our nation. This role we shall fulfill by developing *the most complete and the fullest combination* of the efforts of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union for the annihilation of the Nazi beast. Our efforts in this cause must be not limited and partial but must be developed and put into action to our fullest capacity.

It is our war and it must be won. It must be won in the battle of production, in the battle of delivery, and in the battle of arms for the annihilation of the enemy. This means utmost production of weapons and materials of war for all battle fronts and, more immediately, for the Soviet front. It means a pooling of all resources of America, England and the Soviet Union and their planful allocation in accordance with the

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needs of the struggle. It means delivery of all supplies to the battle fronts. It means an all-out participation in the Battle of the Atlantic, for its eastern shores, for the freedom of the seas. It means all measures necessary to bring about the opening of a new front in western Europe.

An attitude of "limited" engagements and going into the fight only part of the way will not do the job which the nation wants done. Hence, the nation must be inspired with an unshakable will to win and to do everything required for that purpose. We fought our great war of independence with such a will to win, and we did. We fought in later years the great battle to save the Union and its democracy with an equal will to win, and we did. We must do so again, in this crucial hour in the life of mankind and of our nation, to save from the Nazi enslavers our heritage, our freedom, our independence.

The appeasers and pro-Hitlerites are exploiting every opportunity to sow discord and to weaken our national effort. They are trying anti-Semitism and racial incitements. They are parading as champions of democracy and peace to hide their support of Hitler's war and of fascist enslavement. They are threatening civil strife. They will also try to use the ideas of "limited" engagements to drive a wedge into the growing national unity. It is, therefore, necessary not to give to the appeasers such openings. Above all, it is necessary to avoid all semblance of conciliation with the appeasers, let alone actual compromise of the national objective. The appeasers must be systematically exposed as the agents of Hitler. They must be systematically combated and isolated.

LABOR AND THE NATIONAL EFFORT

AMERICAN labor is moving with ever growing consciousness, determination and unity, for the promotion of national unity and the realization of the national objective. Our trade union movement is virtually united in support of the national policy to crush the Hitler tyranny and aggression, to aid fully Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China and all people resisting the fascist hordes. Labor is also beginning to realize its initiative in the winning of the battle of production and in the solution of the problems and difficulties arising in the course of the war mobilization of our national economy. Labor is beginning to make serious contribution to the solidification of the national front against Hitler Germany. The task is to proceed more rapidly, more energetically and more enthusiastically on this road. Labor must became an aggressive and decisive force of a united American people in the struggle for our national objective.

The Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor has demonstrated in considerable degree the readiness and determination of the workers to do everything necessary for the national effort against Hitler. This should serve to encourage the government to realize

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in the fullest measure and with the greatest rapidity the decisions reached by the three-power conference in Moscow. It will also serve to stimulate further labor's initiative in the battle of production and to increase labor's participation in the solution of such problems as "priority" unemployment and in the general task of industrial war mobilization. Above all, it should serve to promote the closest and most intimate participation of the United States in the great anti-Hitler front demonstrated by the Moscow Conference.

There were, it is true, certain serious contradictions and inconsistencies in some of the decisions of the Seattle convention. And one might ignore these for the present, considering that the general trend of the convention deliberations ran in the direction of labor and national unity for the destruction of Hitlerism. Except to point out this: the call upon the government "to guard against closer ties with Soviet Russia" was not only uncalled for but stands in glaring contradiction to the main decision of the Seattle convention in support of the national objective to crush Hitler.

On this main and decisive issue in the life of labor and of the nation, the convention declared that America's whole defense program is "based upon the threat of aggression from Nazi Germany"; that "if Russia can defeat Germany or even delay the Nazi program of world domination, America would gain thereby"; and that "practical considerations consequently make it expedient that we extend such assistance as we can to help Soviet Russia fight the Nazi war machine" (*New York Times,* Oct. 6.) The meaning of this is clear. It means that the Soviet Union is at present fighting in defense, not only of its own freedom and independence but also for the security, freedom and independence of the United States. This is what the Seattle convention has recognized to be the plain truth. On this basis, the convention called for help to the Soviet Union to fight the Nazi war machine. And this is the main thing because this is today a major demand of our national defense.

Those who have formulated this decision chose to call it a decision of "expediency" and "practical consideration." Very well. One need not quarrel with these formulations, provided one always remembers the exact *nature* of the expediency as defined by the Seattle convention itself. The convention defined the "expediency" as one *involving the national security and independence of the United States.* This is the kind of expediency and practical consideration that dictates full aid to the Soviet Union. And if we always remember that, if we remember that the Soviet front is at present the advance line of defense of our very national existence, we shall not be found lagging in the matter of aiding the Soviet Union. We shall be calling *for closer and ever closer* collaboration of the United States with the Soviet Union, Great Britain and all freedom-loving peoples fighting Hitler. Because only this way, only by strengthening and consolidating the anti-Hitler

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front already headed by the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain, will the Nazi tyranny be crushed, and the "threat of aggression from Nazi Germany" be completely and finally removed.

The forthcoming Detroit convention of the C.I.O. gives all indications that it will make a great contribution to labor and national unity against Hitler. The eyes of the whole nation will be focussed upon this convention, in the hope and expectation that from it will issue a clarion call to American labor and the entire American people to solidly close ranks and to undertake the supreme effort for the achievement of the national objective. These hopes and expectations will be fulfilled, despite the fact that John L. Lewis has abandoned the C. I. O.'s traditional path of progress and democracy and joined hands with the worst enemies of labor and the people, and also despite the still existing tendency among certain elements to place narrow group interests above the interests of labor and of the nation.

Already in its convention call the C. I. O. has clearly indicated the chief task of American labor as the backbone and driving force of the national anti-Hitler front. It said:

"More than ever the dangers to our nation demand a national unity of all sections of our population who value the security of our country and who are determined that our democratic forms and fundamental liberties shall not perish."

The convention will have to draw all the practical conclusions from this basic statement. And the chief conclusion is: *everything for the destruction of Hitler and Hitlerism. Everything for the strengthening of the anti-Hitler front of the freedom-loving peoples headed by the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain.*

The convention call also rightly indicates that:

"The C. I. O. must continue to assert its rightful leadership in the consideration and formulation of policies in regard to the important questions which today confront the American people."

This is fully in accord with the basic traditions and fundamental policies of the C. I. O. The task of the Detroit convention will, therefore, be to find the proper ways and means to give effect to this principle in accord *with the special needs of the present situation.* At the present time—a time of national peril and of united national effort—the C. I. O. and labor as a whole can assert their influence in the life of the nation only by becoming an aggressive and decisive force, backbone of the national unity; only by demonstrating in deed their willingness and ability to do the best and most for the achievement of the national objective—for the defeat and destruction of the Nazi tyranny. And this is what labor is beginning to demonstrate.

Attempts may be made to subvert the C.I.O. from its true course of labor and national unity against Hitler by the specious device of separating "foreign" from "domestic" issues. There may also be those who, while professing adherence to

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the national objective against Hitler, will seek to inject all kinds of "ifs" and "buts," making the seemingly plausible argument that "Yes, we must fight Hitler but we must also defend our interests at home." And still others, captives of factional and narrow group interests, may be tempted to inject all kinds of divisive issues and perhaps also red-baiting. To all of which the convention of the C.I.O., and labor as a whole, can have only one answer: the defeat of Hitler is not just a "foreign" policy. *It is the major national objective* and this must underlie and determine *all policies*. It is one fight we are fighting, the fight to defeat Hitler in order to defend the national security, independence and democracy of our country, and everything must be subordinated to the winning of this fight. And this requires unity: unity of labor, unity of the nation, and nothing must be allowed to interfere in any way with this unity.

Conversely: anything that stands in the way of labor and national unity against Hitler, anything that obstructs the national effort to destroy Hitlerism—the appeasers, the conciliators, the "Yes, but" people, the factionalists and red-baiters—all of these must be combated, resisted, isolated or neutralized. In short, the one big fight is to defeat Hitler abroad, to isolate the pro-Hitler appeasers at home, and to fight for a *true national policy* on all questions facing our people at the present time. It is from this standpoint also that labor has to approach such serious questions as the overcoming of the "dislocations" arising in the course of the war mobilization of our industries, seeking the solution of these questions on the road of the *more rapid* war mobilization of the national economy, with the full development and utilization of labor's initiative, and with the systematic removal from defense controls of all pro-Hitler sabotaging influences.

Comrade Browder, whose freedom is so urgently demanded by the national effort, has taught us the truth, that labor and all common people have the greatest stake in the national task of destroying Hitlerism. For no progress is possible toward the liberation of labor from class exploitation, no progress of any kind without removing and destroying the threat of fascist enslavement. That is why labor and all common people have to be in the front ranks of struggle for the national front against Hitler, a driving force of the national unity of all loyal Americans in the defense of the United States from the fascist menace. That is why labor must act unitedly to help consolidate, to support and to strengthen the national front and *to insure the fullest and closest participation of our country in the great anti-Hitler front of all freedom loving peoples headed by the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain.*

That is why we demonstrate solidarity and greetings to the Soviet Union on the twenty-fourth anniversary of the October Revolution, which created the Soviet State and established on the basis of socialism true national freedom, equality and fraternity.

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THE SOVIET UNION AND THE COURSE OF THE WAR

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

WHEN Adolf Hitler, the leader of German fascism, sent his powerful legions raging across the borders of the Soviet Union on June 22, on their mission of wholesale destruction and mass murder, he was the conqueror of all middle and Western continental Europe. His armies had smashed with absurd ease the forces of Great Britain, France, Poland, and half a dozen other countries, and had swept them out of his victorious path. Great Britain, supposedly Nazi Germany's last real European opposition (for the bourgeois world did not take the U.S.S.R. seriously as a military force) had its back against the wall and was fighting desperately, with defeat staring it squarely in the face. Pessimism reigned in all the non-Axis countries and despair hung over those occupied by Hitler's troops. According to all indications Nazi Germany was marching on to world mastery, and humanity faced the seemingly certain prospect of the worst enslavement in all its tragic experience.

Then Hitler attacked the U.S.S.R., the strongest bastion of world freedom. This enormously increased the threat to human liberty. At the same time, the fierce resistance of the Red Army has caused Hitler vast difficulties. In consequence, after four months of the bloodiest battles in all history, mankind again begins to hope and believe that it can, after all, avert the dreadful slavery that confronted it so menacingly just a few months ago.

The Soviet Union, which is bearing almost the entire brunt of the fighting against the Nazi forces, has by no means defeated Hitler; it has not even stopped his offensive. At this writing in mid-October, the Nazis' great military juggernaut is still grinding its way eastward across the plains of the Soviet Union. The possibility for world victory of Nazi Germany still remains a dreadful threat. Nevertheless, the involvement of the U.S.S.R. in the war has set into motion a series of forces which have already dealt Hitler heavy blows and which, if and when they are fully matured, will bring about the certain destruction of the Nazi regime. The glorious fight of the Soviet people is providing the means for saving humanity from the otherwise inevitable horrors of Nazi slavery, and the world is beginning to realize this fact. It is the purpose of this article to analyze some of the major as-

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pects of these powerful anti-Hitler developments, newly brought about by the terrific struggle of the U.S.S.R.

The Changed Character of the War

The involvement of the U.S.S.R. in the war, through Hitler's treacherous violation of the German-Soviet non-aggression pact, has fundamentally changed the character of the war. Prior to this event the war was an imperialist struggle among the great capitalist powers over the redivision of the earth. Locked together in conflict were the rival British-French-American and the German-Japanese-Italian imperialist groups, with the latter decidedly getting the better of the fighting. Both sides were attempting to obscure their imperialist aims with protestations that they were fighting for democracy, for a new world order, for civilization, and for other glittering generalities designed to win their peoples' support for the war. But in such a war there were no democratic objectives. All the world could expect to come out of it, regardless of which side won, was another Versailles or Brest-Litovsk treaty, only much more reactionary.

The involvement of the U.S.S.R. immediately gave a different content to the war. Thereafter it has become a real peoples' fight against fascism and for democracy. This is true: first, because the attack upon the U.S.S.R., the world's greatest bulwark of democracy, throws into jeopardy the liberties and national independence of every country in the world; second, the participation of the U.S.S.R. in the war guarantees that thenceforth a determined struggle will be carried on against Hitler, instead of the Munichism and military defeatism that had previously characterized the struggle of the Anglo-American-French bloc; and third, the U.S.S.R. in the war also means that a real effort will be made to make the eventual peace a democratic and lasting one.

The issues at stake in this peoples' anti-Hitler war profoundly affect the interests of every social class in all nations. The offensive of Nazi Germany threatens the national independence of all the non-Axis countries; (as well as the lesser countries within the Axis); it would cripple their industries and commerce; it would slash the capitalists' profits to the advantage of their German competitors; it would undermine the entire position of the farmers, small business men and professionals; it would enslave the workers and ruin their living standards. All social classes, therefore, have a vital interest in forming a national and an international front for a relentless struggle to destroy Hitler. The American people are faced by the deadly threat of Hitlerism as well as every other nation, so they have the same need for national unity and militant action against Nazi Germany.

The Gathering Storm Against Hitler

During the twenty-two months of the imperialist war no progress was made toward defeating Hitler. On the contrary, aided by high-placed fifth-columnists, appeasers and fascist-minded elements in the opposing capitalist countries, Hitler marched from victory to victory.

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But in the four-month-old peoples' war he is meeting with obstacles which are giving him increasing difficulties and which foreshadow his eventual doom.

One group of these developments against Hitler in the peoples' war may be classed under the general head of mobilizing the peoples' forces. Here below are briefly indicated their general trends.

a. *Intensification of the war:* The participation of the U.S.S.R. in the war has enormously strengthened and intensified the struggle against Hitler. Now the war has become a veritable life-and-death struggle against fascism, not only by the Soviet people, but by other peoples all over the world. Whereas, prior to his invasion of the Soviet Union, Hitler's war was only a sort of victory parade for him, now he faces an increasingly fierce struggle on all fronts. Where previously fascism appeared to be forging ahead to certain world victory, now the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and other warring peoples, who together possess potentially much greater strength, can confront Hitler with the prospect of sure defeat. However, the danger of appeasement, of Munichism, in top capitalist circles still exists powerfully in both Britain and the United States.

b. *World Front of Anti-Fascist Peoples:* A major development brought out by the Soviet Union's involvement in the war and a striking evidence of the changed nature of the war are the growing solidarity and common action against Hitler by the anti-Axis peoples. This is shown by such developments as the Anglo-Soviet Mutual Defense Pact, the Churchill-Roosevelt eight-point agreement, the London conference of all the anti-Axis belligerent powers, the U.S.-Britain-U.S.S.R. munitions conference in Moscow, the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee, the All-Slav conference in Moscow, the U.S.S.R. treaty with Poland and Czechoslovakia, the closer collaboration of all the anti-Axis powers with China against Japanese imperialism, and the increasingly anti-Hitler stand of the peoples of Latin America. The world anti-fascist combination that the U.S.S.R. worked so hard to establish before the war, in order to restrain the fascist aggressor states and to prevent the outbreak of the war, is now gradually taking shape during the war. If brought to its full strength it can and will destroy Hitlerism.

c. *Awakening in the Conquered Countries:* A profound anti-Hitler force being released by the involvement of the U.S.S.R. in the war, and another indication that it is a truly peoples' war, is the developing struggle of the conquered peoples against their Nazi oppressors. Previously stunned and bewildered by the disastrous treachery of their political and military leaders, the peoples of France, Norway, Poland, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Greece have been stimulated by the great fight of the Red Army to begin real struggle against their conquerors. Nor can the most barbarous Nazi repression—shooting of thousands of hostages, wholesale arrests, enforced starvation, etc.—stop this growing upheaval. From one end of Europe to the other stories pour in

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about strikes, demonstrations, sabotage, assassinations, guerrilla fighting and armed revolts. This movement, although still in its incipient stages, has already caused Hitler grave difficulties and its eventual full development will present him with an insoluble problem.

d. *Bettered Morale in the Non-Axis Countries:* An important new factor for the anti-Hitler forces which we have already indicated is the vast improvement in the morale of the peoples of Great Britain, the United States, Latin America and many other anti-Nazi countries that has been brought about by the valiant fight of the Red Amy. This rise in popular morale in the anti-Hitler countries is a development of enormous significance. It multiplies the strength of Hitler's enemies and it can be of decisive importance in determining the outcome of the war.

e. *Increased Prestige of the U.S.S.R.:* Another vital development brought about by the Soviet Union's participation in the war is the growing understanding in capitalist countries of that country's socialist system and policies. Gradually the deep fog of lies spread around the U.S.S.R. ever since its inception by the paid liars of capitalism is being dissipated by the new spirit of honest inquiry generated by the Red Army's heroic fight. The war has exploded the lies that the U.S.S.R. was an ally of Hitler, that the workers and farmers were only waiting for an opportunity to revolt against the Soviet Government, that Russian industry was weak and would collapse under a war strain, that the Red Army had been decapitated by the "purge" and would not fight, and a host of other anti-Soviet slanders. Today even reactionary American papers are compelled to let at least a glimmer of truth into their pages regarding the great Soviet people, whose indomitable fight against Hitler is the admiration of the whole world. This better understanding of the U.S.S.R. is of enormous importance, for it more tightly links the Soviet people to the other anti-fascist peoples and thereby helps make certain that the war and the eventual peace will actually accomplish their democratic objectives.

The above-mentioned developments—the intensification of the fight against Hitler, the growing world front of the anti-Nazi peoples, the awakening of the masses in the conquered countries, the improved morale in the anti-Hitler states, and the greatly increased world prestige of the U.S.S.R.—all brought about by the entry of the Soviet Union into the war and the imperialist war's consequent transformation into a peoples' war, indicate a greater mobilization of the peoples' forces, and a vast strengthening of the peoples' international struggle against Hitlerism. To these favorable developments must also be added a second group, those going to show the blows struck so far by the peoples' forces against Hitler and his allies.

a. *Weakening of Hitler's Armed Forces:* In his desperate attempt to sweep aside the U.S.S.R., the main obstacle along his road toward world conquest, Hitler's armies, together with those of his Fininsh, Rumanian, Hungarian, Italian and other allies, have already suffered

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tremendous and irreparable losses in men and material. At least 4,000,000 of their officers and men have been killed, wounded and captured, and many thousands of their airplanes and tanks have been destroyed. Most important, the myth of Nazi invincibility has been shattered by the Red Army. And in the Far East the gallant Chinese armies have been stimulated to administer smashing and costly defeats upon Hitler's ally, Japan.

b. *Growing Economic Crisis:* Hitler's titanic effort to overthrow the Soviet Union has also dangerously intensified the economic crisis in all the territory controlled by him. He has been compelled to expend huge and unexpected amounts of oil and other war munitions in his anti-Soviet campaign. All Europe is being stripped of provisions to feed the German people and troops; all European industry is being driven madly, in the face of wide-spreading sabotage, to provide Hitler's armed forces with the boundless quantities of materials they need. Consequently, starvation stalks Europe from one end to the other. This rapidly developing economic crisis is full of menace for Hitler's slave regime and for all his plans of conquest.

c. *Weakening Morale in the Axis Countries:* The entry of the U.S.S.R. into the war has also dealt a heavy blow to popular morale in Germany and other Axis countries. Nor does Hitler's mounting string of victories check this sinking morale. The war against the U.S.S.R. is an unpopular one, both because great masses of the workers do not want to fight the first socialist country and because the masses of the people feel that this latest aggression of Hitler's has opened up a long perspective of slaughter and bitter hardships for them, with probable defeat at the end of the war. Enthusiasm for the war is notoriously low, not only in Japan and Italy, but also in Germany. Hitler finds it necessary to police Italy with his troops and Gestapo, and a bright light is thrown upon the state of German morale by the fact that the Nazi Government recently savagely introduced the death penalty for the "crime" of listening to foreign radio broadcasts. That the rising popular discontent has also penetrated into the German Army is shown by the pessimistic tone of the many letters taken by the Russians from dead or captured German soldiers and officers, as well as by the growing number of desertions to the Red Army. As for the Rumanians, Croats, Slovaks, Finns and other peoples of the puppet allies of Hitler, their morale is approaching zero. In this gradually falling morale of the Axis peoples and armed forces Hitler faces what can eventually become a fatal problem.

d. *Failure of Hitler to Isolate the U.S.S.R.:* The greatest reverse suffered so far by Hitler in this war has been his inability to launch successfully his hoped-for all-out crusade against the U.S.S.R., in the name of saving religion, capitalism and civilization. Instead of winning the support of the British, American and other peoples, or of at least paralyzing their opposition as he counted on, Hitler now sees these great forces lining up solidly against him. And his puppet government

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leaders in France, Holland, Norway, Belgium and other conquered countries are finding it as yet impossible to recruit more than handfuls of "volunteers" to fight against the U.S.S.R. The brave fight of the Soviet people has the well wishes of the great masses of the peoples in the conquered countries as well as in the anti-fascist world.

e. *Failure of Hitler's New Order:* The U.S.S.R.'s fight has also dealt a blow to Hitler's boasted new European order. The present European wave of revolt and sabotage, which Hitler tries to suppress by wholesale executions, is writing "finis" to such hopes as he may have entertained of winning the conquered peoples to a willing cooperation in his new order. Hitler's mounting economic and military difficulties are also growing obstacles to his plans for his new system of organized slavery. Not only has Hitler's new European order not been established, but also, because of the attack upon the Soviet Union, the Berlin-Tokio-Rome Axis itself displays some signs of weakening. This is evidenced, among other things, by the tendency of Japan to map out its own war strategy, by Italy's reluctance to furnish troops to the Eastern Front and its obvious fear of Hitler's power, and by the hesitancy of Vichy France, Franco Spain and other puppet governments to do Hitler's full bidding.

The Difficult Road Ahead

The above-analyzed developments, which have been caused by the changed situation brought about since the U.S.S.R.'s entry into the war, and which I have grouped under two general heads: the mobilization of the peoples' power, and the losses and defeats of Hitler's forces, contain the possibilities of an eventual anti-Hitler victory. They represent the major trends, the potentialities, that will finally destroy this monster when they mature into their full force. But as yet they are only in their beginnings. Their decisiveness must not be exaggerated. They will have to increase enormously in strength before the peoples' forces can stop Hitler and smash him back to defeat. The anti-Hitler peoples must be prepared to wage many bitter struggles, to do a vast amount of educational and organizational work in their own ranks, to face many setbacks and to accept heavy sacrifices before victory can finally be theirs.

First, regarding the changed character of the war: The full implications of this great fact have by no means yet been grasped by the peoples conquered or attacked by Hitler. These peoples do not yet completely realize that what was formerly an imperialist war in which they had no defenders has been transformed into a peoples' war in which their deepest interests are not only at stake, but also are being militantly defended. The growing upsurge of the conquered peoples in Europe, the new enthusiasm for the war in England, and the spreading realization in the United States that this is the American people's war and that American national interests are being decided in it, are indications of the growing mass understanding of the new character of the war. But how far yet this basic

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trend is from maturity in our own country we can see from the strong body of isolationism still existing and from the continued prevalence of notions that Hitler can be defeated without our actually going to war.

Secondly, with regard to the mobilization of the world peoples' forces: It is true that the international front of the anti-Hitler peoples is coming into existence, but as yet it is very far from being fully achieved. This is to be seen by the failure of the United States to enter into a full military alliance with the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain, by the reluctance of the United States to extend to the U.S.S.R. the provisions of the lend-lease act, and above all, by the failure of Great Britain and the United States to establish a Western front and thereby to relieve the pressure upon the Red Army. Also, although the peoples of conquered Europe are awakening and are causing Hitler lots of trouble they are as yet unarmed and their revolt is only in its incipient stages. A serious defeat of Hitler's forces by the Red Army, the creation of a Western front, or the full entry of the United States into the war, would turn the growing flame of revolt in Europe into a raging conflagration. Likewise, although the fighting morale in the non-Axis countries has been vastly improved by the sturdy fight of the U.S.S.R., in the United States especially it still suffers sinking spells upon the announcement of every real or manufactured victory by the Nazi armies. And finally, although the U.S.S.R. has undoubtedly gained vast prestige by its bitter fight against Hitler and has thereby greatly strengthened the world lineup of democratic forces, nevertheless a mountain of cultivated prejudice still exists against it and the whole body of appeasers and fifth columnists are making redoubled efforts to misrepresent every action and institution of the U.S.S.R.

Thirdly, regarding the blows dealt against Hitler: While it is true that the Nazi armies have suffered huge losses, so also has the Red Army. Hitler's armed forces, although seriously weakened, are far from being broken. The central task of smashing them still lies ahead. Similarly with regard to the developing economic difficulties of Hitler. These, too, are preliminary in character. The Nazi war machine has a whole continent to draw supplies from and, even though millions in the conquered countries die of starvation, it will be able for a considerable period under present circumstances to find sustenance for itself. The economic crisis and the shortage of materials still has to progress far before it will exert a decisively destructive effect upon Hitler's armed forces. Likewise as regards the declining morale of the populations and soldiers in the Axis countries: this decline also is only in its preliminary phases. Fascist morale is weakened, but it has by no means sunk to the danger point. Further war strain, and especially defeats of the Nazi armed forces are needed to rapidly deteriorate it. And as for the Berlin-Rome-Tokio Axis, although it has been strained by the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the war, it still does Hitler's bidding, and will require

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a real blow from the anti-fascist forces actually to smash it.

The involvement of the U.S.S.R. in the war and its tremendous struggle against the Nazi invaders released the anti-Hitler trends and developments indicated above. It is wearing down Hitler's armed strength, increasing his economic difficulties, giving fresh heart and unity to the peoples in the conquered countries and the anti-Hitler nations. All this is the potential victory process, and the further the U.S.S.R.'s and the other anti-fascist peoples' fight proceeds the more this victory process will grow and mature.

A great force that would help enormously in hastening all these anti-Hitler developments and trends to maturity and in giving them strength enough to destroy the Nazi hordes would be the entry of the United States into the war as a full-fledged belligerent. This step would stimulate the peoples' anti-Hitler fight in all its aspects and on all fronts. It would confront Hitler with an overwhelming superiority of man power and war materials; it would strengthen the eastern front, make sure the formation of a western front, and enormously encourage the revolt of the European peoples in the third internal front; it would deal a blow to the declining morale of the Axis peoples and further weaken the Axis itself; it would be an effective check upon Japan; it would clear the way for a solid Anglo-Soviet-American military alliance, as the basis for the great international front of all the anti-Nazi peoples. Within the United States itself the effect of this country's becoming a full belligerent would be to greatly speed up production of war materials. It would also put a strong check upon the sabotage of the nation's unity and war effort by the America First Committee and its supporting groups of Bundists, Coughlinites, K.K.K.'s, Thomasites and other appeasers, isolationists and fifth-column friends of Hitler.

The United States' intervention in the war can well be decisive in bringing it to a quick and victorious conclusion. The American people must awaken to this fact, to the historic responsibilities they bear in this crucial moment of world history. Hitler is already waging war against us, destroying American lives, sinking American merchant ships, torpedoing our destroyers, etc. The present half-peace and half-war policies of the Roosevelt Administration do not adequately meet the situation. They run the danger of being "too little and too late." America must be more than merely "the arsenal of democracy"; it must also use its arms against Hitler.

The only way for the United States to guarantee its national independence against the world threat of Hitlerism is by joining wholeheartedly with the other anti-Hitler peoples in an all-out struggle to destroy that menace. This is the American people's war as much as it is that of the British and the Soviet peoples, and we must fight it side by side with them with everything we have. The fate of the United States, as well as of the world, depends upon our people clearly understanding and acting

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promptly according to this fundamental reality.

The Responsibility of Labor

In mobilizing the anti-Axis nations for a united struggle against Nazi Germany the labor movement, particularly that of Great Britain and the United States, bears a heavy responsibility. Its political initiative and great strength are imperatively called for in every sphere of the struggle. Labor must be the very backbone of the national front in every country, and it is the great force needed to cement firmly the war alliance between the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union. If this war is to accomplish its necessary objectives—to destroy Hitlerism and to establish a democratic peace—it must have the fullest support of the huge democratic masses of the people, which means in the first line, of the great trade union movement. This is the only solid guarantee that the appeasement policies which brought about the present war, and which still influence in a measure the line of the Churchill and Roosevelt governments (in regard to Finland, Japan, Vichy France, Spain) can be defeated.

Labor in Great Britain and the United States should work tirelessly to build a broad all-class national unity in their respective countries to fight Hitler and they should also militantly support every move of their governments against Hitler. At the same time they must not forget that reactionary capitalist exploiters in their countries are on the watch and eager to exploit the war for their own selfish purposes, both nationally and internationally. The transformation of the war from an imperialist war to a peoples' war by the involvement of the U.S.S.R. does not signify that American and British imperialism have suddenly evaporated. It means simply that popular forces and aims have become predominant in the war and that the British and American imperialists, facing an imminent danger of defeat at the hands of the Axis powers (French imperialism having already been defeated) have been compelled to establish a working compromise with the Soviet Union and with the democratic aspirations of their own peoples. Therefore, British and American labor dare not simply tag along after their respective imperialist governments, but are responsible for seeing to it that these governments are kept upon a course of real struggle against Hitlerism.

Especially in the conduct of the war itself British and American labor needs to be keenly alert against all tendencies to "let the Russians fight alone," on the reactionary theory that the Russians and Germans will destroy each other. This is a real danger. It fits right into Hitler's strategy of fighting his enemies one at a time. It must not be forgotten that for years the imperialists of Great Britain, France and the United States schemed to develop a war between Germany and the U.S.S.R., in the hope that these two countries, both considered as their rivals, would kill off each other. This was the Munich-appeasement line that led the world to its present war debacle.

Now that Germany and the So-

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viet Union are at war with each other there are powerful capitalist interests in the British Empire and the United States who are hoping that they can under present conditions achieve their former goal of letting the U.S.S.R. and Germany exhaust each other while they, the British and American imperialists, divide up the world to suit themselves. Many of these people speak out openly to this effect, such as (Herbert Hoover; William C. Bullitt; Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada; and Moore-Brabazon, Minister of Aircraft Production in Winston Churchill's Cabinet. Many others of the same opinion in high public places are now keeping silent, but obviously their conception of giving aid to the U.S.S.R. is nothing more than a desire to even things up a bit in the war, so that both Germany and the Soviet Union can wear each other down, without the possibility of victory for either.

Labor and the people generally must be on guard to prevent such reactionaries, who are appeasers at heart, from controlling the government's policy. And to understand that the menace is a live one at the present time, all we have to do is to observe that while the U.S.S.R. is fighting for its very life, Great Britain so far has failed to open up a western front, while the United States continues along with its half-peace, half-war policies. The U.S.S.R. is making practically the whole fight.

In England and the United States organized labor is far from sufficiently awake to its tasks in this critical situation. In both countries there is altogether too much of a tendency simply to tail along after the government, to proceed upon the supposition that the capitalist leaders of these two great states can be depended upon to lead a last-ditch struggle against Hitler. This tailism, unless overcome, can well lead to disastrous consequences both in the conduct of the war and the formulation of the eventual peace.

Organized labor in the United States especially has to arouse itself to perform properly its historic tasks in this decisive struggle against Hitler. As never before, our labor leadership is called upon to display mature judgment and action. Above all, it is necessary that the split in the trade union movement be bridged over. Even if organizational trade union unity cannot be achieved at once this is no reason why there cannot be political cooperation upon war issues between the two great labor federations. Such cooperation is imperative. It is sheer folly for labor to head into the present war situation with the present internecine struggle raging within its own ranks. A united labor movement is a first condition for a solid national unity of all classes and for a determined fight of the whole American people against Nazi Germany.

The American trade union movement also needs imperatively a resolute and clear-cut anti-Hitler foreign policy. The C.I.O. should free itself from Lewis' paralyzing isolationism and the A. F. of L. should discontinue its senseless and harmful red-baiting of the U.S.S.R. Both federations should support the Administration militantly and push it

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on to a more aggressive anti-Hitler policy. The unions should recognize the obvious fact that the United States is now in the war and that it must use against Hitler every economic and military weapon that it possesses, in close alliance with the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and all other countries fighting against Hitlerism. All talk about "measures short of war" should be discarded. In this resolute spirit both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhoods should affiliate themselves to the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee and work jointly with the Soviet workers to achieve the downfall of Hitler.

The trade unions in this country should also unitedly and energetically perform their necessary part in the battle for production. They should demand full representation on all government policy boards. They should avoid strikes in defense industries, by a more prompt and vigorous handling of workers' grievances and by a more militant defense of the workers' interests before the various government boards. By mutual agreement of the two federations jurisdictional strikes should be eliminated.

In protecting the workers' economic standards and political rights from profiteers and reactionaries, the trade unions also need unity of program and action. The war is developing a host of complex economic problems, most of which assume political forms and which labor can handle adequately only if it is keenly alert and moves unitedly.

In developing an all-out fight against Hitler the trade unions need also to display far more activity than they have done to date in fighting against the dangerous America First Committee and its miscellaneous collection of Quislings, both within and without their ranks. The growth of this budding fascist movement is a dangerous menace to American liberties, to the labor movement, and to the peoples' fight against Hitlerism generally. Wm. L. Hutcheson of the A. F. of L. and John L. Lewis of the C.I.O. should be compelled either to sever all their connections with the pro-Hitler America First Committee or to give up their posts in the labor movement.

The world now faces the greatest crisis in all its history. The imminent danger of an unheard-of slavery confronts all humanity. Barbaric fascism, born of the rotting capitalist system, is storming ahead on the offensive. The only possible way it can be stopped and the world started on the road to peace, prosperity and freedom, is by the united action of Great Britain, the United States, the U.S.S.R., China and the other anti-fascist peoples. The possibilities for such united and victorious action have been created by the Soviet Union's entry into the war. But the sole manner in which these victory possibilities can be matured, by forming solidly the great international anti-Hitler front and by throwing its crushing power against the fascist Axis states, is for the trade union movements of the United States and Great Britain to realize fully their great responsibility and to insist that a determined anti-Hitler policy be carried out by their respective governments.

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WORKERS' EDUCATION AND THE WAR AGAINST HITLER

By ROBERT MINOR

(Address delivered at the banquet held on October 19, 1941, in honor of Comrade Jacob Mindel, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday.)

FELLOW STUDENTS: The National Committee of the Communist Party greets Comrade Mindel on his birthday, very proud of his past and expectant of a tremendously useful future from him.

We who have been long in the workers' movement appreciate a teacher. Just as a comment upon our high evaluation of the role of a teacher, I recall now that one of the terms applied by the Bolshevik Party to Comrade Lenin was *Nash Uchityel*—"Our Teacher." The position of a teacher to the workers' movement is one of the highest that we can conceive.

We have hundreds of teachers in our party, all of whom are loved and honored for the important role they play in the building of the party of emancipation of the workers. We are honoring one of the best of them tonight on his sixtieth birthday.

I have a very high regard for Comrade Mindel. I spent nearly two years in Spain with some young men who had been Comrade Mindel's students of political science. Among the 3,000 or so American volunteers who went to Spain, there were some of his students. who, without any military training, made a magnificent record in that brave sctruggle.

I went to see these boys after they had been one hundred days under fire uninterruptedly in the front line trenches without relief, underfed, sometimes down to as many as four cartridges apiece. They were tough men; but they had some very good political training behind them. I sat around with them and discussed all of the issues in which they were interested. They spoke of a very tough man back at home whom they called Pop Mindel. They said he was a good teacher but awful tough. Among the students of the schools which Comrade Mindel had supervised were Dave Doran, who died at the battle of the Ebro, and Irving Keith, who also died.

Pop Mindel is not only a teacher; he is a student, too, and the oldest student of the school, who has been at it fifteen years; all of his other students stayed there shorter terms. Mindel is a student. His professor

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is now at Atlanta, Georgia, in a stone cell with a steel door locked. Earl Browder, the teacher of our Party, took great pride in the Workers School, and it is interesting to note that on its 15th anniversary, which was in 1938, Comrade Browder made a memorable speech about the school and about its significance in the great political struggles of our country. Browder made the slogan of the Workers School in the words "Theory to the masses." Let us think about that a minute. Browder said: "Our theory is the understanding of the laws that govern history in its development, the laws of social change."

Laws that govern the movement of history? There are people who say that there are no such laws, and those who follow the guidance of the bourgeoisie, believing as they must believe that there are no laws that govern the motion of society and the movement of history, become, as Browder said, "helpless victims of reactionary forces and they are caught in blind alleys at times like these." The bourgeoisie, as Browder said in that speech to the Workers School, considers that the word "theoretical" is synonymous with futility, the theoretical is synonymous with unpractical, the theoretician is equal to a utopian dreamer. That is what you learn in the schools dominated by the bourgeoisie. Comrade Browder said a very interesting thing: "Only Marxism-Leninism can restore the human mind to its throne, creates a unified individual and a unified society, restores the tools to the workers and reunites thought and action, theory and practice." Browder particularly stresses that Marxian theory is necessary for us to understand the turns in history, the violent and sudden changes which Marxians understand are not unusual, not apart from the regular forms of history but are inevitable in history. Marxism teaches how the working class, which is the foremost class of all the world today, can understand those turns in history and avoid being helpless victims and thereby prevent society itself from being a helpless victim, by understanding those sudden turns, avoiding what Browder calls the "blind alleys."

* * *

We are now faced with some startling examples of blind alleys. One of the worst of them, all a product of sectarian ideas, sectarian ideas which themselves are borrowed from the petty bourgeoisie, is the idea that we do not change our policy, our Party approach and our Party forms of action, so to say, our Party line in times of great tumultuous change in society.

We are now presented with the biggest turn that could be conceived in the midst of a tremendous war, and there are many, many people, foremost of all being Hitler and Hitler's friends, who would like indeed for the Communist Party to be a victim of that stupid petty-bourgeois sectarian idea that a political party must not change its line when a great historic change occurs. The idea is especially prevalent now among those who are influenced by agents of reaction in

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this war situation. The idea that at a time of great change like this in the character of the war there should be an adjournment of Marxism, Marxism put on the shelf, Marxism no longer to be regarded as guiding us now because Marxism is for times of quiet, peace and routine of life, that when war comes, when all the landmarks are upset we must put away our Marxism, go and be victims of the bourgeois outlook upon the events of the time, and only after the slaughter come back and pick up our Marxism again.

It is very interesting to see something that Lenin said about this. He spoke of Karl Kautsky, who had an idea which he preached throughout Germany during the war, that somehow or other the whole of the Marxian outlook had become invalid at the time of the imperialist World War of 1914-18. Lenin made a remark about Kautsky that his idea was the very same idea—ridiculed by Clausewitz—to the effect that when wars break out all historic political relations between the nation and classes cease and that a totally new situation arises.

The Communist Party sees the tremendous damage that is done to the masses by ideas of this sort. It is through Marxism-Leninism that we combat such ideas; it is the Marxist-Leninist instructors who are charged with making the minds of the young advance guard of the working class immune to such poisonous ideas.

One of the "blind alleys" that is most prevalent and most dangerous today is the idea which I am compelled to describe to the effect that there is not one war going on but that there are three wars, that there is a war between the Soviet Union and Germany, that might possibly be supported by the working class; there is a second war between China and Japan which might possibly justify support of the Chinese against the Japanese; and a third war between Germany and England which is described by the proponents of such a theory as an imperialist war, as a war in which we could not suport either side because both are imperialist.

This idea is put forward very insistently by some of the fifth columnists of the Hitler government of Germany that are found in all the countries of the world who sail under the name of Trotskyites. The idea is that we are to cheer for the Red Army (that will do Hitler no harm if it goes no further), but that we are not to help any of those who are participants in the war against Germany with the Soviet Union. This, my friends, is one of those blind alleys of which Browder spoke, although Browder was locked in his cell before the great change occurred which brought about the necessity of this clarification.

A great many of the victims of bourgeois ideas now are hesitant, are worried, are talking about the danger that something we might do might help England, and they describe it as British imperialism. These people are of course advancing another form of the same idea that was advanced by the Trotskyites against Spain. Think of that

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a while. We recall that the Trotskyites and others, including Norman Thomas who was and is under their influence, made a point of the fact that Spain is a capitalist country and spoke of Spanish "imperialism" at the time of the civil war and the war in defense of Spain against Hitler's invasion. We now find these same poisonous ideas arising all over the world under the stimulus of the Hitler influence and the agencies of Hitler such as the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites in the various countries.

Marxist-Leninist education courageously and intelligently combats these ideas and brings about that necessary clarity, that necessary strength of will on the part of the advance guard of the working class that is indispensable in order that now at the greatest crisis the world has ever seen the working class may play its role as it properly should. With the skillful help of Comrade Mindel, the Workers School and its related institutions make it clear to us that Marxism does not adjourn at the time of a great war crisis, that Marxism is precisely made for the realities and the real situations of life and not for imaginary situations.

In the current issue of our theoretical organ we have published in part an article by Lenin (the full article is soon to appear in a new volume of Lenin's works which the International Publishers is getting out), the famous article of Lenin on the subject of a pamphlet written by Rosa Luxemburg known as the Junius Pamphlet. This article by Lenin appears to us to be one of the shining lights, a pillar of fire necessary for the whole world now, particularly in this crisis. In the preface to that article in *The Communist,* it is pointed out that now, today, in this tremendous crisis there is a phenomenon that was fully and clearly seen, analyzed and explained by Lenin twenty-five years ago, to wit, a gigantic stride backward in history which has brought again on the order of the day a series of wars of national independence against the newly risen tyrant, Adolf Hitler. It is necessary for Marxists, those who learn from the school of which Comrade Mindel is such a powerful pillar, it is necessary for us to study closely, not merely to follow blindly, but to study closely, all of these theoretical postulates in regard to the present situation, because knowledge, clarity, understanding of these things will move the masses, the millions of Americans.

We must never forget that we live in the biggest, the most decisive of all capitalist countries in the world. The country in which we live is a democracy, a democracy with the qualification that it is capitalist. But in the present situation, in the titanic struggle against a Middle-Age tyrant projected into modern times—in this titanic struggle of a whole series of nations against conquest by Hitler, the necessity for support of the national struggles, the struggles to defend their independence, their national freedom, these national struggles must be joined by all of the classes of all of the nations that are capable of defending their national in-

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dependence. We must remember that America, the United States, is the most powerful factor among these states, aside from that great socialist state which is now the center of the hideous fire. We must remember that what we do here in America will decide tremendous issues. We must remember that the Marxian philosophy of our party deals adequately with the explanation of all of the background, the justification, the necessity for the working class, the most active, the most decisive of classes, to step into this national war and to ensure that victory come to the coalition that is being formed of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

The many students engaged in the serious study of Communist teachings are preparing themselves to serve, not alone their country's independence, but the survival of civilization itself.

I, in the name of the National Committee, thank Comrade Mindel for his tremendous work in making Marxist-Leninist education effective in the greatest crisis the world has ever known, and for his great services.

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EARL BROWDER—CHAMPION OF U. S.-SOVIET COLLABORATION

BY MAX WEISS

COLLABORATION between the United States and the Soviet Union in the war against Hitler is today a fixed policy of our government. This collaboration is as yet circumscribed in some vital aspects; it has not as yet developed to the necessary stage of joint military action against Hitler. But the general policy of the Administration is clearly fixed in that direction.

This policy is based on very realistic grounds: collaboration with the Soviet Union in the war against Hitler is fundamental to American national defense. The only alternative to such collaboration is American surrender to Hitler and extinction as a free nation. This alternative is so abhorrent to every honest, patriotic American that even some of the most determined opponents of Communism and the Soviet form of government staunchly advocate and fight for Soviet-American collaboration on the sole, and compulsory, ground of American national interest. For the government, for the dominant sections of the bourgeoisie, for the wide non-Communist masses, this compulsion is self-evident. It is cogently expressed in the popular conviction that the eastern front is America's first line of defense.

Only in the camp of the appeasers is there opposition to Soviet-American collaboration. These forces mask their opposition to Soviet-American collaboration behind an elaborate anti-Communist argument. But this is merely a shyster lawyer's brief and not at all the real ground for their opposition. Life itself has proven that one may be an opponent of Communism and of the Soviet form of government and still be an advocate of Soviet-American collaboration—that is, so long as one stands upon the solid ground of American national interest. The appeasement forces oppose such collaboration because they have abandoned and betrayed that ground, because they occupy positions which are subversive of American national interests.

The alternative to Soviet-American collaboration—full surrender to Germany—is a specter which haunts the mind of every patriotic American. In the interests of our country, it is an alternative which is outlawed from consideration; the brand of treason is placed upon it. Not so with the appeasers. They have em-

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braced that alternative and made its brand their sign. Just as the pirates, placed beyond the pale by all civilized communities, were wont to nail the symbol of their own death sentence to the masthead, so the appeasers today marshal their forces under a banner on which is inscribed Lindbergh's skull-and-crossbone slogan of death to American national independence—"Rather an alliance with Germany than collaboration with the Soviet Union!"

This, then, is the fateful moment to which the history of our country has come: the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have been reduced to their most primitive terms—life and death for America.

Earl Browder—Champion of U.S.-Soviet Collaboration

At such a moment, the full significance of Earl Browder's persistent and far-sighted struggle over the years to bring about collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union comes to the fore. The policy for which Earl Browder fought so passionately and so obdurately is today the very policy which our country can ignore only at the peril of its own continued existence as a free nation. This did not come to pass by accident; the present contains within it the fruits of the past. America is in peril today because it ignored the truth proclaimed by Earl Browder that a policy of collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union was permanently in the American national interest. Every tragic moment in the history of our country's foreign relations during the last quarter of a century can be more clearly understood when we observe the high points of our government's hostility to, underestimation of and reactionary manipulation with the vital principle of Soviet-American collaboration.

Earl Browder's long fight to win the American people for a policy of friendship to and collaboration with the Soviet Union has its great historical counterpart in the long struggle of Thomas Jefferson to win America in his time for such a policy toward France of the French Revolution. Then also, Jefferson was accused of advocating friendship and collaboration with France as a pleader for French interests; his party was slanderously called the French Party. Those who were really guilty of serving foreign interests were chief among the traducers of Jefferson's name. But what Jefferson calmly told his friends came to pass; his words can now be applied to Earl Browder:

"Foreign influence is the present and just object of public hue and cry, and as often happens, the most guilty are foremost and loudest in the cry. If those who are truly independent can so trim our vessel as to beat through the waves now agitating us, they will merit a glory the greater as it seems less possible." (Letter to Thomas Pinckney, May, 1797.)*

There are some, however, who are still reluctant to the present day to give credit where credit is

* The Jeffersonian Cyclopedia, edited by John P. Foley, Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York, 1900; p. 344.

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due. If, then, we open a discussion with such people it is not out of resentment at continued ingratitude toward one of the greatest services rendered our country by any political party or leader. There are more pressing considerations at stake; our great compulsion is the necessity for forging complete national unity in defense of our country. To accomplish this every vestige of unclarity which may still cling to one or another phase of the struggle for full collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union must be removed.

The principle of Soviet-American collaboration is today at the basis of our government policy. Many of those who were "foremost and loudest" in the cry, only a short while ago, that this policy was not in the American national interest, that it was based on a variety of special pleading for a foreign interest, are today "foremost and loudest" in defense of this policy as the *sine qua non* of American national interest and American national defense. Nor could it be otherwise for those who—whatever their past—are still patriotic enough to see that the Red Army blood which runs on the eastern front is also a blood-letting of America, that the Nazi hordes which advance on Moscow are marching on New York via Moscow.

But there are some even among such people who still attempt to draw a false and harmful line of demarcation between their support of Soviet-American collaboration and the advocacy of such collaboration by the Communists, and specifically Earl Browder. They do not, and cannot, say that the policy itself is a wrong one, or not in the American interest; in fact, they say the contrary and correctly so. But they open instead a discussion of motives for support of such a policy.

"We advocate collaboration with the Soviet Union," they say, "only because it is now in the American national interest. The Communists advocate such collaboration because they are special pleaders for Soviet interests and a special philosophy."

This type of argument—representing in some cases a misconception and in others a malicious libel—is broadcast quite assiduously by many who should be engaged in the great task of welding national unity against Hitler rather than in baseless discussions of this character. But since the issue is raised, it is important to establish quite clearly and beyond any question that the Communist Party has always fought for collaboration with the Soviet Union as an American party basing itself on the national interests of our country.

As far back as 1938, Earl Browder put the matter clearly and concisely:

"Only a blind fool could deny that the United States would be stronger, that its role in the world would be much greater, that its national interests would be more secure, if it were working in collaboration with the great power of the Soviet Union.

"I am not a spokesman for the Soviet Union. The Communist Party of the U.S.A. is not, as the slander-

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ous demagogue Martin Dies charges, 'an agency of Moscow.' But I am an American as well as a Communist and, with the whole American party, I can and do claim the Soviet Union as the reliable friend of our nation and our people, and propose in the American national interest that we should seek the cooperation of the Soviet Union in the world crisis in which we find ourselves." (*Fighting for Peace*, International Publishers, New York, 1939, p. 214.)

This brief statement of policy, typical of the persistent and recurrent pleas of Earl Browder, unquestionably establishes the fact that the Communists, through their brilliant spokesman Earl Browder, have always fought for Soviet-American collaboration from the standpoint of American national interests. Indeed, the Communists were the first to point out and to stress to the American people the fact that such a policy was dictated precisely by our country's national interests.

In fact, it was Earl Browder who elevated the whole general fight for the national interests of our country to a position of supreme importance in the labor movement, compelling the labor movement to re-evaluate the traditional attitudes of nihilistic neglect, on the one hand, and, on the other, an uncritical approach to the principle of national interest, both of which had been characteristic of the labor movement for years. It was Earl Browder who rallied the labor movement to become a front-rank champion of the national interests of our country and who taught the labor movement to understand clearly and fully how absorbing must be its concern with this vital principle.

The Communist Position Based on True National Interest

Earl Browder's struggle for the defense of American national interest was based on deep, original thought in which the basic Marxist-Leninist teachings were applied to this most complex of all problems of the modern labor movement. In discussing this problem, Browder summarized the attitude which under his leadership Communists have consistently adopted in face of every problem of foreign or domestic policy:

"There is another angle to the question of nationality and its relation to internationalism, which more and more comes to the front. That is the question: what are 'national interests' and do Communists and progressives properly identify themselves with support of such national interests. Some confusion arises in certain circles, due to the fact that imperialist policies are advanced for mass support under the claim that they represent 'national interests.' Therefore, some people draw the conclusion that support of national interests means support of imperialism, so long as monopoly capital controls the economy of the country.

"The identification of the interests of monopoly capital with the interests of the nation is, of course, entirely false. It is false, whether it is made by the spokesmen of monopoly capital to mislead the people, or whether it is made by ostensible anti-imperialists supposed for the purpose of fighting imperialism. In either case the false identification

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of imperialism with national interests comes to the same end—to confuse the people, the masses, and assist monopoly capital in maintaining its dominion over their minds." (*The Communist*, December, 1938.)

At the same time, Browder pointed out that this conception does not imply that national interests are at all times antagonistic to capitalist interests, but rather that, in some situations, the defense of national interests may include the participation of capitalist forces:

"So also the relation between national interest and capitalism is not a fixed one, given for all time and unchanging. On the broadest historical stage, capitalism first appears as the agency of all the progressive forces of society, and only gradually becomes transformed into its opposite, monopoly capital or imperialism, which threatens the destruction of society and of national interests. In the process of this transformation, as progressive capitalism grew over into the present decaying imperialism (which culminates in fascism), there is for a period an overlapping of national and capitalist interests simultaneously with the sharpening of the contradictions between them—an example of the dialectical formula of unity of opposites. And even in the present stage of decadent capitalism, when the interests of the broadest masses of the population (national interests) urgently demand the drastic curbing of the power of monopoly capital as the precondition for continued existence —even now, the broadest popular or national interest requires, not simply the 'destruction of capitalism' but the organization of the democratic majority as the precondition for future progress to a higher stage. And a capitalist democracy threatened by fascist aggression, to the degree that it can be organized to resist fascism, is to that degree representing the true national interest (including even capitalist interests which can express themselves independently of monopoly capital), which is the interest of the population of that country as a whole." (*Ibid.*)

As the reader will note, this was written at the time of a sharp struggle between the popular, democratic forces and the reactionary, monopolist forces in our country, when monopoly capital was going to all lengths to defeat the progressive social legislation of the New Deal. Today, the open war which Hitler is waging upon the United States, threatening as it does also the interests of big sections of monopoly capital, makes it possible to say that the organization of the country for defense of its true national interests can also include capitalist forces identified with circles of monopoly capital so long as these identify themselves with the struggle for the military defeat of Hitler.

It can be seen from the foregoing that when the Communist Party called for Soviet-American collaboration on the basis of American national interests, this did not represent a fortuitous position based on accidental circumstances. Rather, the Communist Party has all along based its attitude toward Soviet-American collaboration on a firmly established program of defense of

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the national interests of our country, a program which also finds its reflection in every phase of Communist policy.

But there is still another side to this question. It is implicit in the charges frequently leveled at the Communist Party that it changed its position on the war in accordance with the requirements of Soviet foreign policy and not on the basis of the national interests of the American people.

But this line of reasoning is essentially false. It bespeaks a totally incorrect grasp of the relationship between national interests and internationalism in general and the character of the Soviet Union in particular. It takes for granted that the ground of national interest is in conflict with internationalism, whereas the fact is that the Communists are the best defenders of the national interests of the United States precisely because they are internationalists. Earl Browder effectively answered the whole family of such arguments when he said:

"The reactionaries charge that the Communists cannot be sincere in our declared purpose of defending the social and national security of the United States because we are internationalists. . . . But it is becoming clear to millions that, for example, the Communists were able to point out sharply and clearly the destructive effects upon American national interests of the Munich betrayal, last September and October, in the heat of events and not six or eight months after, *precisely because we are internationalists.* It is becoming clear, to take another example, that the Communists have become the most effective carriers throughout Latin America of the idea of the good neighbor and of Pan-American democratic unity against the invasions of fascism—surely a work in the national interest of the United States—precisely because we are internationalists, and no one suspects us of a narrow nationalist jingoism that could be contrary to their own national interests. We profoundly believe that the true national interests of our own and every other people are not in contradiction, that they are harmonious, and that one can be protected in reality only by policies and measures which conduce to the protection and security of all.

"We also know that similar views guide the policy of the men and the party who direct the destinies of the Soviet Union. That is one of the reasons we are able, with full confidence, to champion the cause of full collaboration of the United States and the Soviet Union in world affairs, in the cause of peace and orderly international relations, while basing ourselves entirely upon the defense of the national interests of the American people." (*The Second Imperialist War,* International Publishers, New York, 1940, p. 68.)

We Communists can be the champions of permanent collaboration with the Soviet Union, secure in the knowledge that so long as our government adopts policies expressive of the real American national interest there can never develop any conflict between our country and the Soviet Union. In fact, the struggle for such collaboration with the Soviet Union implies a struggle on our part for the real national interests of the United States and

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for the expression of those interests in the policy of the government as a condition for such collaboration.

Rejection of Collaboration with the Soviet Union Proved Disastrous

Let us now examine this question in retrospect, in reverse, so to speak. Let us see what the consequences were for our national interest of those policies which have characterized the past relations of the United States with the Soviet Union, relations based variously on armed intervention, open hostility, non-recognition, underestimation.

That long shameful chapter in the history of our country's relations with the Soviet Union which began with criminal armed intervention and continued through many long years of die-hard non-recogniton was not only a crime against the Soviet Union and the world working class, it was no less a crime against the real national interests of the United States.

Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in the complex Far Eastern situation. In this area, in which Soviet and American interests meet at a common point, more clearly than any other area, the most elementary requirements of American national security, even when regarded from the distorted viewpoint of American imperialism, dictate an orientation toward collaboration with a strong Soviet Union. It is a militarist-dominated, expansionist Japan which is interested in a weak Soviet Union at cross-purposes with the United States.

Despite this fact, the United States in the days of the Wilson Administration participated jointly with Japan in the invasion of Siberia during the infamous Allied intervention in Soviet Russia. Thus it was that the United States, out of the most reactionary, counter-revolutionary motives, was responsible for helping to strengthen the positions of Japanese imperialism to the detriment of both the United States and the Soviet Union, when every consideration of American national interest required an opposite course.

So flagrantly disastrous did this prove to American national interests that the United States Government—the Harding Government which refused to accord official recognition to the Soviet Union—undertook to rectify this fatal error at the Washington Conference which was held in 1920.

This revealing moment in American history is thus described by Browder:

"In the Far East, the Pacific area, those parallel interests [the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union] are so obvious and fundamental that even the Harding Republican administration, in 1920, dominated as it was by a fixed and obstinate hostility to the Soviet regime that was never relaxed for twelve years under Coolidge and Hoover, was yet forced by the inexorable logic of even the narrowest conception of American national interests to put pressure upon Japan, in the Washington Conference, to evacuate the Soviet Far Eastern Maritime Provinces after the Red Army had cleared them out of the Baikal region." (*Ibid.*, p. 57.)

Despite the obvious lesson of the

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Washington Conference, the American Government, in the grip of the most reactionary sections of American imperialism, persisted in the policy of non-recognition of the Soviet Union, hoping thus to weaken it even long after the other leading capitalist countries of the world had extended such recognition. This non-recogition was the counterpart in foreign policy of the reactionary domestic policy which led to disaster at home, and it was accompanied by continued maneuvering with Japan against the Soviet Union.

The organic complement to this hostility to the U.S.S.R.—and in diametrical opposition to the Soviet policy—was the U.S. Government policy of collaborating with Japan and other imperialist powers in China in the efforts to stifle and suppress those forces of the Chinese people which were striving for a free, united, democratic China.

The launching of Japan's adventure in Manchuria in 1931 was the inevitable outcome of this disastrous policy. Among other things, and, in the first place, the growth in power and strength of the Soviet Union, it was this aggravation of the Far Eastern situation which led to efforts for correction of this criminal American foreign policy, efforts which finally culminated in recognition of the Soviet Union in the first period of the Roosevelt Administration. But by then irreparable harm had been done to the national interests of the United States, which required the curbing of aggressive, militarist Japan and collaboration with the Soviet Union and China to secure peace in the Far East.

In the whole period since then, these same considerations were operative for all forces concerned with the real national interests of the United States. Unfortunately, the policies of our government until very recently, in substance, although not in formal declarations, remained the same. And each attempt to minimize or reject the necessity for practical, active collaboration with the Soviet Union and China, each fresh attempt to appease and thus strengthen militarist-dominated Japan, inevitably only aggravated the situation in the Far East.

It is unnecessary at this late date to enter into a detailed examination of the paths of disaster into which our country was led in the whole period preceding the outbreak of the imperialist war in 1939 because of the underestimation of the need for an active policy of close and full collaboration with the Soviet Union. It suffices but to mention the betrayal of Republican Spain. The symbol of a policy based on accepting alternatives to Soviet-American collaboration is the universally execrated Munich, the spirit of which did not fully depart from the high places of our government even after that word had entered into the vocabulary of every country of the world as a synonym for betrayal of national interest. There surely cannot today be a single serious person concerned with the defense of our national interests who will dare to defend Munich. But there are still too many such per-

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sons who do not yet recognize that in excoriating Munich they are in reality castigating the policy of non-collaboration with the Soviet Union—for this was the essence of Munich, surrender to the axis as the price for rejecting collaboration with the Soviet Union.

In the period following the outbreak of the imperialist war, our country was once again faced with the choice of two roads—either collaboration with the Soviet Union, joining the strength of the two most powerful countries in the world for limiting the spread of the war and working for a just peace; or hostility toward the Soviet Union for the reactionary imperialist aim of "switching" the war onto an anti-Soviet rail and thus finally achieving the dream of Munich. The high point of the active operation of this sinister alternative to collaboration with the Soviet Union came during the Finnish-Soviet war.

In the light of present events, it is as clear as the noon-day sun that this policy of hostility to the Soviet Union during the whole period prior to June 22 was a policy at direct and complete variance with the real national interests of the United States.

It turns out in fact that Hitler was in full agreement, as part of his own plan ultimately to destroy the national independence of both the United States and Great Britain, with the perspective of "switching" the war against the Soviet Union. In fact, Hess was later sent to Britain to engineer such a "switch." Hitler's only difference with those in the United States who were also orientated at that time toward such a "switch" was in the timing. On one side came pressure for an immediate "switch"; from Hitler's side came considerations for a "switch" at a later stage.

The significance of this active policy of hostility to the Soviet Union during the period of the war prior to June 22 can be fully appreciated by what happened on June 22. If, following June 22, the United States adopted a policy of collaboration with the Soviet Union out of realistic considerations of the national interests of our country, what can be said in extenuation of the whole policy prior to June 22, especially of the efforts to prevent a peaceable Finnish-Soviet agreement and to provoke war against the Soviet Union? On June 22, the Administration was presented, as though on a silver platter, the possibility of realizing that plan for which it had strained every energy during the Finnish-Soviet war. It rejected that plan and correctly so because it was so patently in contradiction to the real national interests of our country. But if acceptance of that plan of "switching" the war on June 22 signified disaster, would not such a "switch," say during the Finnish-Soviet war, equally have led to disaster for the United States? Does it not become clear then that June 22 revealed as though by a flash of lightning the anti-national essence of the policy of hostility to the Soviet Union which characterized American foreign policy during the imperialist stage of the war? Does it not once

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again emphasize the fact that by following a policy of hostility to the Soviet Union, rather than of collaboration, our government was—as on every such previous occasion—following a policy opposed to the real national interests of the United States?

Let us examine the attitude of the United States Government toward the liberation of the Western Ukraine and White Russia; the incorporation in the U.S.S.R. of Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia; and the extension of the land frontiers of the Soviet Union west of Leningrad. If the eastern front is the first line of defense of the United States—and this is universally admitted by all those who stand on the ground of American national interest—then each of these steps was an action which helped to strengthen the first line of defense of the United States. If Leningrad has not fallen, if Moscow has not fallen, if the Nazis are not further east—is this not also due to the foresight of the Soviet Union in taking these protective measures? Are they not now clearly seen to redound to the advantage of the national interest of the United States?

In view of our present efforts to rush all possible aid to the Soviet Union, the anti-national policy applied prior to June 22—including among other manifestations the embargo against the Soviet Union—appears in a truly tragic light. The best defender of the United States is now handicapped in its magnificent struggle against Hitler because for almost a year and a half it was prevented from getting aviation gasoline, machine tools and materials which were intended in particular for those very industries beyond the Urals that are now counted upon to enable the Red Army to defeat the Nazi enemies of the U.S. In the wisdom of the present grasp of the situation—a grasp which previously only the Communist Party, of all political parties, had—what can be said, from the standpoint of American national interest, in extenuation of that embargo? Only Hitler—and the appeasers, the fifth columnists—today have reason to rejoice over the effects of that policy of hostility to the Soviet Union.

So it is with every chapter in the history of the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Those policies of our government which based themselves on one or another alternative to collaboration with the Soviet Union have always led to adverse effects for the national interests of the United States; whereas those policies which based themselves on the establishment of closer relations with the Soviet Union, on the perspective of collaboration with the Soviet Union, have always advanced the national interests of the United States. And these conclusions are arrived at by an examination of the meaning of Soviet-American collaboration at every stage of the developing international situation. They lead irresistably to the conclusion which the Communist Party has always placed at the basis of its work, namely, that a policy of collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union is in the national interest of the United States—not

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temporarily or on occasion, but permanently and continuously. Soviet-American collaboration is a historic necessity for the United States under all conditions if our true national interests are to be protected and advanced.

The present developing collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union together with Great Britain and the peoples of the world for war against the fascist axis in the interest of the national independence of our own and all other countries confirms the brilliant prophecy of Earl Browder, consistent and tireless champion of Soviet-American collaboration:

". . . But the underlying realities will inevitably bring the same general conclusion; the United States will ultimately, despite all obstacles and prejudices, find itself in cooperation with the Soviet Union to salvage peace and civilization. The only question is whether we will march ahead consciously to that end, and thereby attain its full benefits, or whether, like Britain, we will go through the swampy by-paths of appeasement of the fascist axis, and risk the catastrophes inherent in such a policy." *(Ibid., p.* 61.)

The task of the American people is to establish full economic, political and military collaboration with the Soviet Union in order to destroy Hitlerism—the common enemy of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and every country in the world whose people are fighting to defend or to regain their national existence.

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SOVIET CULTURE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM

BY WILLIAM AUER

TWENTY-FOUR years ago, the Russian Army voted with its feet against the criminal imperialist war in which it had been struggling for three years. Vastly larger than the forces which could be thrown against it by the Central Powers, it had taken all the courage and tenacity of peasant soldiers to keep it in the field even for that length of time. Indifferent training, incapable and corrupt leadership, with a few honorable exceptions, lack of artillery and shells and of soldiery with the education required to use them, lack of clothing and food, lack even of rifles, and with a transport system unable to cope even with the piddling output of the Russian industry of that day—all these made the Tsar's Army the weakest of any of the great forces contending in the arena of war, and the first to collapse.

Today, there is thus far only one major front. The bulk of Germany's armed forces, with the industries of almost all Europe at their disposal, are hammering at the Red Army. But that army, with only "Russia" behind it, has destroyed the finest armaments produced by European industry at a rate faster than its own weapons have been destroyed. And despite the loss in three months of a mass of war material greater than the British Empire or the United States has yet been able to produce, it continues to wield vast quantities of equipment in the field.

Little wonder that the German High Command miscalculated! Little wonder that the experts of the British and American General Staffs find Soviet resistance so "incomprehensible." For, political malice aside, how could these gentlemen be expected to understand that the ignorant peasant Russia of the First Imperialist War could have so changed within a quarter of a century as to have been able to produce the finest armaments in the world and in so large a quantity? Where in history is there a precedent for such a change? And how could so backward, so illiterate a land have produced the men to man these mechanisms, to direct the fire of enormous cannon at rapidly moving tanks and planes miles away with such deadly accuracy as to have established Soviet artil-

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lery today as the finest in the world? Where would the leaders have come from to give direction to so vast and complex a war machine?

These questions posed themselves in various forms even before and especially immediately after the October Revolution. For it was plain to Lenin and the Bolsheviks that the lone country of the Soviets could not survive in a hostile capitalist world without acquiring the culture necessary to render it powerful, economically and militarily. The Mensheviks and their concealed Trotskyite-Bukharinite brethren within the Bolshevik Party were overawed by the strength of the old system which had to be overcome, a system ruled by a class which, by virtue of its "culture, its education, its international connections and its habits of rule," remained "ten times stronger" (Stalin) than the class by which it had been overthrown. And in one manner or another, they all denied the possibility of, and fought against the estalishment of socialism in Russia on the grounds that the Russian people had not yet attained the necessary level of culture.

But Lenin had a faith in the ability and energy of the masses that neither the Mensheviks of his day nor the military experts of our own, could comprehend, and he thought differently. He wrote:

"If a definite level of culture is required for the creation of Socialism (although nobody can tell what that definite level of culture is), why cannot we begin by achieving the prerequisites for that definite level of culture in a revolutionary way, and *then*, with the help of a workers' and peasants' government and a Soviet system, proceed to overtake the other nations?" (*Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 511.)

The tsarist government had used its state power to keep the masses ignorant, to prevent them from acquiring knowledge. It stifled the development of industry and science, and so laid the basis for the military defeats it suffered; for without modern industry and science military strength is impossible.

The Soviet Government, on the other hand, has used its state power to enlighten the masses and to foster education on such a scale as could remain only a dream in lands where higher education is the monopoly of the ruling class and its satellites, and the degree of education of the masses is determined primarily by the needs of the process of production.

* * *

When the third school year under the Soviets began in the fall of 1920, the last of the major interventionist drive had not yet been defeated, the sown acreage had fallen far below the level of 1913, industry had been reduced to a level which could be compared only to that of China, and the hunger which was to grow to the proportions of one of the major famines of modern times was already stalking the land. Yet in that terrible year the Soviet Government and people performed the heroic feat of opening 12 per

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cent more elementary schools, and more than twice as many high schools, as had existed in Russia in the top pre-war year of 1913. The reason, as stated by Lenin, was that:

"In no other country are the popular masses so interested in real culture as in ours; in no other country is the question of this culture posed so profoundly and so consistently as we do; in no other country is the state power in the hands of the working class, which in its overwhelming majority fully realizes its shortcomings, not in culture I would say, but in literacy; in no other country is it prepared to make and is making such sacrifices to improve its condition in this respect, as in our country." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVII. Russ. ed., p. 388.)

In addition to the expansion of the regular school system, the Soviet Government undertook the colossal task of teaching the two-thirds of the U.S.S.R.'s adult population who had been denied even the barest elements of learning how to read and write. Between 1919 and 1935 fifty million persons became literate, acquired the tools without which it would have been impossible either to operate any but the simplest industrial machines or to improve the country's primitive agricultural methods, or—most important of all—to learn how to rule. For, as Stalin said at the Fifteeth Party Congress in 1927:

". . . the essence and meaning of Lenin's slogan of a cultural revolution is not only the estalishment of universal literacy, but the acquisition of *the habits and capabilities necessary for participation in ruling the country.*"

These habits and capabilities were acquired primarily in the process of ruling itself—in the participation of millions of workers and peasants in the tens of thousands of local and higher Soviets, in the trade unions, the cooperatives and collective farms, in all the broad ramifications of Soviet democracy. However, the acquisition of literacy gave the masses the key to political and general education. To further the development of intensive education new types of schools were opened for adults. For example, evening schools, called Workers' Faculties, were established, with the purpose of training workers who had not had more than an elementary school education. As the network of schools expanded and the staff of qualified teachers increased, the establishment of universal elementary education became a practical possibility. In 1931, amidst the turmoil and strain of collectivization and the carrying out of the first Five-Year Plan, compulsory universal elementary education was instituted, with the result that in a single year school attendance increased by 6,500,000—a 50 per cent increase over the 13,500,000 in the preceding year.

By 1938 illiteracy had become a thing of the past, and the number of pupils in elementary and high schools was four times as great as in 1913. These figures implied more than a mere quantitative increase in educational facilities, more even than an unprecedented rise in the

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well-being of the masses, enabling working class and peasant families to do without the earning capacity of their children. They spoke of the emancipation of women and of the non-Russian national minorities who had been bitterly oppressed under tsarism. For without the elimination of the gulf of ignorance separating women and the non-Russian nationalities from the male Russian population (low as was its level of culture), these groups might have had the equal rights assured by the disappearance of class rule, but the differences in the level of cultural development would still have made for chauvinism and petty-bourgeois nationalism on the one hand, and the treatment of women as inferiors on the other.

* * *

The elimination of illiteracy and the development of a school system among the non-Russian nationalities forming almost half of the population of the U.S.S.R. was a task which stimulated the science of language just as the social and natural sciences were stimulated by planning and the economic development for which it strove. Today, education is proceeding in seventy languages instead of the half-dozen (primarily one—Russian) which prevailed in the educational system of tsarism. But formal education in the languages of the various nationalities presented unique problems.

The economic and cultural oppression of these peoples had limited the languages of the more backward to words expressing only the processes and relationships of everyday life. General concepts could not be taught in these native languages because they contained no words with which to express them. Thus, Soviet philologists faced the problem of enriching these languages in a socialist manner, a manner which would utilize both the resources of the native tongues and the richness of the language of the most advanced Soviet people—the Russian—without either chauvinistically and uncritically adopting Russian words en masse, or yielding to nationalist pressures to avoid Russian at all costs.

There was, for instance, the problem of creating written alphabets for several score smaller peoples which had none. Probably no other scientists have been called upon for such direct aid in the solution of a political problem as have the ethnologists in enabling the formerly oppressed nationalities to catch up with the Russians and to create a culture socialist in content but national in form.

For the development of alphabets, as well as the enrichment of languages, was directed toward cementing the friendship of the Soviet peoples and cutting the ground from beneath both the Great Russian chauvinists and the non-Russian nationalists who desired to resurrect national enmity. Thus, the alphabet originally worked out for the Mohammedan Central Asiatic peoples was based on the script most widely used among the peoples with whom this group had very strong ties. This resulted in the in-

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troduction of the complex Arabic script among them. Among other peoples, however, latinized scripts were introduced, seventy in all, to make easier the ultimate transition to a world community of language. However, the ever-closer friendly ties with the Russian people, transformed from oppressor to guide and leader, and the increased knowledge of the Russian language among peoples who had generally not been able to speak it even at a time when no other language could legally be used in official matters, made advisable the transition to Russian scripts. By 1939, therefore, all forty-six minor nationalities within the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic—largest of the sixteen in the Union—had adopted Russified scripts. At present, Russian scripts for the other Union Republics, and the minor nationalities within them, are in process of preparation.

The extension of industry, collectivization and modern agricultural methods, and universal education to the national Republics has resulted in a flowering of national culture unparalleled in the history of mankind. For example, the opera, a west-European art form of which our own country can boast less than half a dozen permanent professional companies, flourishes today in every Soviet Republic, including those whose culture had known not even the simplest form of theatre. But where the American opera, toy of a handful of wealthy patrons desirous of imitating Europe's aristocracy, can only occasionally make a tentative step at staging a production based on the rich and varied history of our own country, the Soviet opera brings to its peoples both the best in world culture and an opportunity to present their age-old folk epics and the heroism of socialist construction in this rich form. Thus the Buryat-Mongolians, formerly a primitive nomad people, decimated by disease and fast losing all traces of an independent culture under tsarist oppression, have not only presented such world classics as "Othello" at the State Theater newly-established at Ulan-Bator, but were able to present a ten-day program of their own full-length plays and operas in Moscow last year, which was received with acclaim by the experienced audiences of that world center of the theater.

What is true of the theater is equally true of literature and the arts. National culture has flourished with the development of each of these arts. The peoples of the Soviet Union have been brought closer together through acquaintance with each other's classic and contemporary works. And through their mastery of world culture they have acquired a knowledge and bond with the peoples of the world such as no nation elsewhere possesses. It can be said that the average Soviet person is well acquainted with the culture of most other nations. For instance, all the countries of the English-speaking world together cannot match the achievement of Soviet culture in the presentation of Shakespeare's plays by 204 professional theatrical companies in the single year of 1939. Nor, to cite another example, can correspond-

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ents with any other armies report what Wallace Carroll of the U.P. and Cyrus Sulzberger of the *Times* reported after visiting the front line dugouts of the troops that had just retaken Yelnia and Yartsevo in September—the existence of well-stocked libraries containing volumes of Heine and Goethe, representatives of the culture of the people with whom, by virtue of Hitler's fiat, they are at war—a culture of which the German troops know nothing.

* * *

Parallel with the development of education and the arts has been the growth of material culture and the sciences. In its simplest and broadest form this has meant educating the worker and collective farmer in the use and proper care of his machine. But the Soviet worker and farmer were no mere passive recipients of this education. Consciously striving for the establishment of socialism, and stimulated by the socialist wage principle of payment according to quantity and quality of work, the industrial worker has multiplied his productivity five-fold since the Revolution, a rate so utterly without precedent as to be incomprehensible to bourgeois economists whose only experience has been with circumstances under which an increase in labor productivity is forced upon the worker.

And by 1935 the skill of the Soviet worker was so advanced, his knowledge of the production process beyond his immediate job so complete, and his social consciousness so highly developed that a Stakhanov could appear on the stage of history. Here, as Stalin pointed out, was a manual worker who, while remaining a manual worker, became a mental worker of the highest order as well, thus bridging the contradiction, old as class society itself, between mental and manual labor. For the contribution of Stakhanov, and the hundreds of thousands who have followed the trail he blazed, is not simply the bright idea of a keen and alert workman. It is, and this is why Stalin included the miner Stakhanov in his famous toast to science—a tremendous advance in science in the field of technology.

But that Stakhanovism could appear to spur mightily the productive effectiveness and defensive might of the Soviet Union was in itself due, in part, to the extreme modernity of Soviet industrial equipment. And this equipment could exist, and be produced in sufficient quantity to make Stakhanovism possible in every Soviet industry and in agriculture, only because of the development of science.

Soviet natural science has not lagged behind the tremendous demands made upon it. Freed from subjection to the profit motive and the throttling hand of monopoly, inspired and aided by the Communist Party to seek new paths toward new goals, and having the compass of dialectical materialism to guide it, stimulated by the guarantee that its discoveries will be made full use of in lifting mankind to ever higher

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levels of culture and well-being, and linked to the people both by its work and its personnel, Soviet science has become the envy and the pride of honest scientists the world over, and a fortress against which fascism is beating its head in vain.

A great railroad is being built from Lake Baikal to the Pacific, far to the north of the Trans-Siberian and safely within the Soviet borders. Its course runs over permanently-frozen soil whose surface thaws to a bog in the summer. But this line will function the year round because Soviet science has discovered the chemical and mechanical means of preventing the tracks from sinking and being tilted during the summer months. And when it is put into service it will carry oil from the limitless fields discovered by Vassili Seniukov, a young scientist who refused to believe that the type of rock in that region could not contain oil, just as the Soviet Government refused to believe that the Komi people from whom he came could not possibly develop great men of science.

The Germans are amazed and angered that the Red Navy, supposedly the weakest of the Soviet arms, dealt heavy blows to their marauding craft, sinking some of the largest vessels they have sent into action. But they reckoned without their hosts, including Academician Krylov, who designed the only major vessel which the Japanese were unable to sink at Tsushima in 1904, and whose advanced theories, accepted only reluctantly and in part under the Tsar, have formed the basis for both Soviet naval design and naval gunnery.

The United States and Germany are in the same latitudes as the southerly part of the Soviet Union. The United States brings its rubber half-way around the earth through seas endangered by the Japanese Navy. Germany manufactures its rubber from potatoes—which recently joined all other foods on the rationed list. But the Soviet Union —although still having to import rubber—not only manufactures large quantities for its motorized divisions from its potato crop, ten times larger than that of Germany, and from its huge stores of grain: it grows rubber, from Moscow to Vladivostok, and from the Ukraine to Archangel! For this too it can thank Soviet science, which found and developed the rubber-bearing plant that can be raised in such widely varying climates and soils. But it must also thank the collective farmers, most progressive agriculturists on earth, who, on thousands of experimental plots throughout the country, rapidly discovered the methods of cultivation necessary to enable this wild Central Asian plant to be domesticated and raised successfully on an industrial scale.

The German war machine in its death-throes is wounding hundreds of thousands of Soviet youth. But the recovery of wounded Red Army men is now assured in incomparably greater proportion than ever before in the history of warfare. Shock—cause perhaps of more deaths than the serious injuries which it accompanies—is being treated by methods worked out

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by Liza Stern who, as woman and Jew, symbolizes the freedom which socialism has brought to the oppressed. Operations which formerly could not be undertaken because of the danger to the weakened patient from a general anesthetic are now safely performed by blocking off the part of the body to be operated upon by a novocaine solution, which serves both as local anesthetic and to prevent the spread of infection. Fractures which previously could not be treated at the front, because of the need for frequent dressing of the wound, are now treated immediately and placed in casts, enabling safe and rapid transport to base hospitals, because of the development of a balsam dressing which does not require changing for long periods at a time. The results of such work can be seen in the fact that 83 per cent of all those wounded in the war with Finland were restored to active duty.

These examples can be multiplied indefinitely. Each represents the richness of thought and fullness of individual development made possible by socialism. The Soviet Government has given to science tremendous material assistance, and Soviet science and scientists are giving richly to the government which nurtured them and the people from whom they sprang. Little wonder that Lysenko, an uneducated peasant boy at the time of the Revolution, but today President of the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences and Vice-Chairman of the Council of the Union of the Supreme Soviet, who symbolizes the link between the people, science and the state, should contribute to the People's Defense Fund the hundred-thousand-ruble Stalin Prize, he was recently awarded.

* * *

Today culture and science, always a part of the defense effort of the Soviet people, have thrown their full weight into the struggle against fascism. The All-Union Institute of Experimental Medicine has decided to put aside all long-term research projects, and to devote its enormous resources to the development of practical methods for utilizing the finest achievements of the medical science on a mass scale for the benefit of the wounded at the front. The film industry is throwing the finest in German culture into the teeth of the invaders by reviving "Professor Mamlock" in the theaters of Moscow and Leningrad, within earshot of the front, and is turning out new films based on the most heroic episodes in Russian and revolutionary history. The theater is staging plays such as "How The Steel Was Tempered," the remarkable autobiography of the dauntless Young Communist fighter of the civil war, Nikolai Ostrovsky, who, though paralyzed and slowly dying of wounds, made a writer of himself with the conscious purpose of remaining a socially useful human being and active Party member. Sholokhov, Petrov, and the other giants of Soviet literature are at the fronts, working on the most heroic and worthy theme of all. Shostakovich has written a symphony to the accompaniment of the Battle of

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Leningrad, while taking his place each night as a fire-watcher on the roof of the Conservatory. The work of the school has been reorganized to take care of the health and upbringing of the children now even more fully entrusted to its care, and to teach them the most important subject of all—the subject of armed defense. Soviet technology is engaged in a grim race with that of Germany to turn out better planes, tanks and guns, and to increase the productivity of the new industry in the continent behind the Urals to replace that temporarily lost in the West. But in that race it is confident of victory. For behind it is the Communist Party and the Soviet Government which fostered the new technology, the Stakhanovite and patriot millions who have multiplied their efforts to promote it, and the greatest scientist of all, Stalin, who guided the forces and showed the way. And alongside, ever more vigorous, march the men of science and culture, confident of victory with the aid of the vast anti-fascist forces, the peoples of the world.

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THE ARMY AND THE PEOPLE

BY JOHN GATES

OCTOBER 16 marked the first anniversary of the Selective Service Act, which created for the first time in our history a mass conscript peacetime army. The situation in America and the world is radically different now from what it was when selective service first was put into effect. The growing menace of the Nazis to the independence and freedom of all countries, climaxed by the invasion of the Soviet Union, has transformed the war of rival imperialists into a just and progressive war for the defense of humanity against the Nazi drive for world conquest. This profound change has produced fundamental realignments in national and class forces in the world and in our country, altering the relationship between the people and the government, and consequently the army, which is the instrument of the government. This change requires a reexamination of the attitude of the working class and the nation to the army, and the formulation of a new approach.

Decisive Measures Are Demanded

The fundamental conflict in the world today is that between freedom and slavery, democracy and fascism. Humanity is locked in a life-and-death struggle with the Nazis and their jackal followers. The very future of mankind depends on the outcome of this titanic struggle. Whether we or they will win, whether we shall be free or enslaved, is being decided, and can only be decided, on the field of battle. We are living in the midst of war—a war which began with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, and which has spread into a world war because the threatened nations and peoples failed to unite among themselves and with the Soviet Union for concerted action against fascist aggression. Now all future politics are being decided by war. He will win who has and uses superior force—this is the bitter truth that needs to be faced squarely by all Americans. Americans must realize the full gravity of the situation. Victory over Nazism can no longer be achieved as easily and cheaply and with such comparatively little sacrifice as it could have been when the fate of Spain and Czechoslovakia were at stake. The Nazis, aided by the Munichers, have become the most menacing

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military machine bent on world conquest the world has ever seen. Past sins must be paid for now. Despite terrific losses to themselves, the Nazis continue to advance against, and are seriously weakening, the present strongest military power of the anti-fascist camp—the Soviet Union. Nothing will stop the Nazis from forcibly imposing their hateful barbaric rule upon the world except superior force. The world military relationship of forces has become such that we Americans can no longer avoid the inescapable conclusion—we can survive as a nation, we can make further progress, only if we defeat Hitler. We can defeat Hitler only by a joint war of Britain, the U.S.S.R., and the U.S.A. against Nazi Germany, in which Britain and the United States participate on an equal basis with the Soviet Union; in which the U.S.A. gives, not only of her resources and arms production, but also of her manhood; in which America does an equal share of the fighting.

This is the road that history now forces us to take. It is a road that means tremendous sacrifice; but it leads to a goal worth any sacrifice —to victory over Hitlerism. Failure to take this road now and quickly, delay and hesitation, will invite defeat, and will only mean that we shall have to make infinitely more costly sacrifices later on, under infinitely worse conditions.

The role of the United States is decisive in this world conflict. We are potentially the strongest military power on earth. Conscious of our historic responsibility, we must transform the potential into the real. America must organize in record time the largest war production and build the largest army in the world. We must out-produce and out-fight Hitler. We must fight, we must master the art of war, or we perish. Every American who loves his country must burn this thought into his consciousness.

Although Americans are overwhelmingly opposed to Hitler, they are not yet sufficiently aware of the grave, immediate danger Hitler Germany spells for our country. They still hesitate to take the full, resolute, decisive measures that the situation demands. They still have the illusion that Hitler's defeat is possible without great sacrifices on our part and without the need for us to fight. Many organizations still pass resolutions pledging for the fight against Hitlerism their energies and lives, "if need be." They fail to see that events have already eliminated the "if," and that life itself has provided the answer. It is no longer possible to put limits on the all-out effort for the military defeat of Hitlerism.

There is a rising awareness of the need for full military action by the United States against Hitler. The national convention of the American Legion passed a resolution asking for the lifting of the restriction preventing the sending of an A.E.F. outside the western hemisphere. The national convention of the A.F. of L. pledged support of "all action, no matter how drastic." There is a growing movement for a declaration of war, expressed in statements by outstanding college presidents; edi-

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tors of student newspapers; Fight for Freedom, Inc.; the Associated Leagues for a Declared War; many publications, among them *PM*, the *New York Post*, the *Nation* and the *New Republic*. And now there is an important movement developing for American participation in the opening of a western front.

This trend, however, is far too slow in view of the critical military situation. The steps taken by our government, such as the manning of Atlantic bases and the patrolling of the ocean, the order to shoot at German submarines on sight, the present move to arm our merchant ships—are all good steps in themselves; but they fall far short of what the situation demands. They add up to America's playing a secondary role in the war, the role of an arsenal for democracy but not a fighter for democracy. The people of our country, and in particular the trade unions, must set up a great cry for decisive measures by our government, for military collaboration with Britain and the U.S.S.R. on an equal basis.

In addition to being too slow in taking a position for military action, many labor and people's organizations have committed other serious errors. The American Youth Congress in July went on record for aid to Britain, China and the Soviet Union, but opposed an A.E.F. and has not yet reversed itself on this now vital question. Similarly, the automobile workers' convention opposed an A.E.F. The failure of a single labor organization outside of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League to take a position in favor of the extension of the draft (only the American Legion and Administration spokesmen came out in favor), led to the bill's passing by the skin of its teeth—by one vote. This was interpreted by Hitler as a victory for him and a sign of the disunity and confusion prevailing in the United States. The defeat of the bill would have been a catastrophe; it would have meant actual demobilization of the army at the moment of greatest danger to our country. Finally, there is the tendency, which still persists even in labor ranks, of doing everything possible to escape the draft, a tendency that was never correct, even during the period of imperialist war, and which represents fundamentally a flight from the struggle.

How can these extremely serious mistakes be explained? First, by the failure to understand really the changed character of the war brought about by the invasion of the Soviet Union; that labor and the people now have just as much as, and even more, at stake in the war than the bourgeoisie; that every class in America now has a stake in the war; that the fate of the entire nation is at issue; that the entire nation must therefore be interested in taking every measure necessary to win the war; that this necessitates revaluation and reorientation on the question of the armed forces. Secondly, by the failure to grasp the tremendous danger confronting our nation as a result of the attack on the U.S.S.R.; by the rise of a feeling, on the contrary, that the involvement of the Soviet Union

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lessened the danger to us; by the underestimation of the enemy's resources and strength, coupled with the feeling that the Red Army by itself could defeat the Nazi war machine. Thirdly, and by no means least in importance, by underestimating the activities and the influence of the appeasers, the isolationists, pacifists and Trotskyites—all of whom are actively serving the cause of Hitlerism. These reasons led to disunity and passivity on the part of labor and other progressive organizations.

Pacifism in the Service of Hitler

Pacifism, the ideology of opposition to wars in general, to all wars, has been one of the most useful weapons in Hitler's arsenal since his advent to power. Hitler could not have armed himself to the teeth but for the nefarious work of the Municheers and Fifth-Column "pacifists" who rendered nation after nation defenseless and prevented each from offering resistance when Hitler chose to attack it. Such has been the story of one Hitlerian conquest after another, up to his invasion of the Soviet Union. Under present-day conditions, pacifism is the most dangerous threat from within to the defense of our nation; it is, in fact, the best ally that Hitler has. Pacifist ideology, deliberately fostered by the appeasers, serves to disarm the people at the moment when our national existence is imperiled.

The role of Fifth Column for Hitler in our country is played by the America First appeasers, the Norman Thomas "Socialists," the Trotskyites, and the professional "pacifists." All these people play upon the honest peace desires of the masses in order to prevent America from taking the measures that will wipe the chief source of war, Hitlerism, from the face of the earth. They want us to be at "peace" so that Hitler may have no obstacle in his path of conquest. In the name of peace they would assure the conquest of the world by Hitler and perpetual war. The blunt truth is—in actuality they are not at all against all wars; they are for war against the working class and the American people, for war against the Western Hemisphere, for war against the Soviet Union. The logic of pacifism is best illustrated in the following quotation from a recent column by Dorothy Thompson:

"Marcel Deat, the Left-wing pacifist politician and journalist, who reminds one strongly of Norman Thomas, was isolationist toward Czechoslovakia and Poland, and wrote the famous article in August, 1939, 'Why Die for Danzig?' Deat, who contributed to defeatism and internal division of France, is now reported to be trying to get volunteers for the crusade against Russia. The pacifist who would not fight for France and her allies is now prepared to fight for Hitler!"

This man, recently shot by one of the men he recruited to fight against the Soviet Union, has now joined Pétain and Hitler in war against the French people and against the countries fighting Hitler.

These people din into our ears,

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day in and day out, denials that America is in danger. They strive to lull us into a false sense of security with claims that we are bordered by two oceans and try to divide us by racial discrimination and anti-Semitism. Demagogically, they seize upon just grievances of the masses, to hinder the national defense effort.

The appeaser-pacifist arguments that "we cannot serve democracy by taking part in foreign wars," and that "war crushes democracy" are, of course, dangerous lies. It is true that some wars crush democracy, as for example the war that Hitler is conducting against the world. But it is also true that there are wars which advance the cause of democracy. Notable historic advances of democracy were made in consequence of just and progressive wars. In fact, our country was founded as a result of such a war. Our democracy took a giant leap forward in the Civil War. A victory for the anti-Hitler forces would result in the greatest expansion of democracy the world has ever seen, whereas a victory for Hitler in this war would result in the crushing of democracy throughout the world.

By refusing to take the side of democracy in this war, the appeasers help Hitler. In the name of democracy and opposition to war, they would bring about the triumph of Hitler, the wiping out of democracy, and the further spread of war.

Pacifism is not a working-class ideology. The working class can defend itself and achieve its aims only through struggle. Workers have never hesitated to fight for their rights and to give their lives, if need be, in the true interests of the nation. Nor is pacifism the ideology of the big bourgeoisie, although the bourgeoisie may make use of pacifism within a nation to disarm the working class, or the fascist bourgeoisie may make use of it to disarm a nation it wishes to subjugate; but the big bourgeoisie itself will fight to the death and in fact builds a military machine in order to maintain its rule. Pacifism as an ideology arises from the middle classes, who have vacillating, shifting interests, who tend to run away from problems requiring forthright solution, who tend to compromise instead of fighting. Pacifism runs contrary to the interests of the working class and the nation; it disarms the nation. Its poisonous influences must be ruthlessly combated and rooted out of the ranks of the American people as inimical to the defense of our country.

The American people are not pacifist. We must under no circumstances fall into the error of lumping the honest peace-loving masses, who are misled and confused by the propaganda of the appeasers and pacifists, together with these agents of Hitler. We need patiently but firmly to convince the people by explaining to them the stark reality of the danger that faces us, that the only road to peace and democracy now lies along the path of the military destruction of Hitlerism. The history of America gives us confidence that the program of its appeasers will be branded for what it is—a program to disarm

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and disunite the people, a program of surrender to Hitler, a program which would condemn the world to a future of fascism and war.

An Army of National Unity

The people of America must master the military art. Military training must become an everyday, essential part of our life, like the right to vote, and compulsory education. We need the biggest and best trained army in the world in order to defeat Hitlerism.

The entire nation is intensely interested in the new American army of a million and a half men. Since selective service is a democratic way of raising an army, practically every family in America has some personal tie with the men in the army. The main reason however for the great concern of Americans over the army is that it constitutes the bulwark of our defense in this crisis facing our country.

To guarantee that the American Army will become the force needed to defend our country's interests, basic changes in the evaluation of the Army must be fought for and achieved. Today the U. S. Army is no longer a relatively small body, composed of men driven into its ranks by unemployment and inability to earn a living in civilian life.

Today the U. S. Army is a mass organization of nearly two million Americans, of all walks of life—representing a cross-section of the talents, courage and love of liberty of the people in every hamlet, village and city of the nation.

History has placed before the United States Army the opportunity of serving by its might and love for liberty the cause of the nation and of mankind against the immediate most ferocious enemy of the United States and of all peoples—Hitlerism.

The social composition of the United States Army and the main task before it make possible and imperative a basic reorientation in the attitudes, not only of labor and the entire people, but also of the War Department and the government to the army and its role.

The United States Army and Navy must become a mighty fighting force—disciplined, skillful, and politically enlightened. This only emphasizes the need for the fullest utilization of the creative talent and initiative of every man in the ranks.

The Trotskyite agents of Hitler put forward the slogan of so-called "workers" control of the army. This fake radical catchword is contrary to the interests of the working class and the nation, and serves only to mask the pro-Hitler activities of the Trotskyites. When national unity is essential for victory, they would set the working class against the nation, would promote internal disunity and confusion, and pave the way for a Hitler victory. The Trotskyites are playing the same Fifth-Column role for Hitler that they played in Spain. There, the Trotskyite P.O.U.M. fomented an armed uprising against the Spanish People's Front government, at a time when the Spanish people were fighting with their backs to the wall, on the grounds that the Republican government of Spain was

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a "bourgeois" government. Through the use of false, revolutionary-sounding slogans, they stabbed the workers of Spain in the back, and helped fascism to conquer Spain. American labor must be ever vigilant against this fascist-Trotskyite scum.

This is not a class war. It is a war for the preservation of American independence against Hitler. All sections of the American people have a common stake in this war. Class differences and the class struggle, of course, continue, but these become subordinated to the national interest. An all-inclusive national front against Hitler must be created, and the army must reflect this national unity. The role of the working class in this situation is not to fight for control of the army, but to collaborate with all other sections of the people for the building of a bigger and better army of national unity. Just as labor is vitally concerned in the expansion of defense production, and asks for adequate representation in defense production machinery in order to help bring this about, so the working class, which makes up the bulk of the army, is vitally interested in building the army, and will cooperate with all groups to do so. The policy of national unity and a united effort to build the army are essential for victory.

How good is the new army? How is its morale? These questions can be answered only when one understands the various stages through which this army has passed, and the many difficult problems it has had to solve. This mass army, democratically selected and therefore constituting a good cross section of the American people, came into being when the war was still an imperialist war in which the people felt they had no stake, at a time when a great popular movement against the passage of the Selective Service Act as a step toward involvement in an imperialist war had been developed. Consequently, many men entered the army unwillingly, with a great deal of distrust and suspicion of the entire program, and with the idea of getting the thing over with as quickly as possible and returning to normal life. Thus, the source of the original problem of morale was that the men felt that the imperialist war was not their war and they wanted no part of it, although they deeply hated Hitlerism. The policy of the government and the army was in conflict with the true interests of the masses.

The change in the character of the war created an entirely new situation in the army. The soldiers overwhelmingly sympathized with the Red Army and felt that for the first time the Nazis were being fought effectively. However, their immediate reaction was to breathe a sigh of relief and relax, based on the belief that the invasion of the U.S.S.R. by the Nazis eased the danger to the United States. It was at this moment that the proposal was made for the extension of the service. Since an adequate explanation of the proposal was not made, it created great resentment among

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the men, who felt that promises made to them about one year's service had been broken. This was seized upon at once by the appeasers, who posed as "champions" of the soldiers, and who exaggerated the problem out of all proportion to its real extent. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the labor and progressive movement did not resolutely support the proposal and did not explain its absolute necessity. The appeasers seized upon every grievance of the men to develop resentment in the ranks against the government and the army command.

This was the great "problem of morale" that occupied the attention of the country for several weeks. The appeasers, demagogically, seized upon and exaggerated the issue, not because they had any intention of raising the morale of the troops so that they could the more effectively fight Hitler, but in order to demoralize the soldiers. Gauging the situation better than the Administration and the progressive forces, the appeasers developed wide agitation to the effect that our country was no longer in danger now that Hitler was bogged down in the Soviet Union, and that therefore we could slow down and relax our defense preparations. They could be successful in this only so long as the Administration failed to impress the army and the nation with the increased danger to America resulting from Hitler's attack upon the U.S.S.R.

It must be admitted that many people, organizations and publications fell victim to the appeaser plot against the army, and helped to spread alarmist stories about low morale, mass desertions, and one-sided pictures of bad training, conditions, etc. All this played into the hands of the appeasers, who said: "You see, look how bad our army is. How can we take further steps against Hitler and risk war with such an army!" But then, instead of acting to strengthen the army, they used the situation to work for its demobilization.

Basically, many grievances notwithstanding, the morale of the men was good. The men were anti-Hitler and very happy over the fact that the Red Army was putting up such a good fight. What made it possible for the appeasers to make capital out of the situation was the failure of the Administration and the army command, as well as the labor and progressive organizations, to educate the nation and the soldiers as to the increased gravity of the situation and the need for service extension in order to strengthen the army. When they began to do this, the situation improved considerably.

Labor and Army Welfare

Labor and the people have a great responsibility toward the Army. For never before in American history was a conscript army formed in peacetime, and because at times the army was used against labor and the people, a definite historical separation between the army and the labor movement developed. The critical situation facing our country demands an indissolubly united army and people, and a total mobil-

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ization for the defeat of Hitler.

General Lear, the "hero" of the unfortunate "Yoo-hoo" incident, which was exaggerated beyond its importance and used by the appeasers to undermine the authority and prestige of the army command and to weaken army discipline, has correctly stated that the major factor explaining any weakness in army morale is civilian morale (although he wrongly exonerated the army of responsibility for any shortcomings). Labor bears a great share of the responsibility for whatever weaknesses exist in army morale, and for whatever headway the destructive, defeatist work of the Lindberghs, Wheelers and Thomases has made in the army.

Labor is the strongest organized force in our nation, comprising more than 11,000,000 organized workers. Labor is the bulwark of the nation, the backbone of our production, and it makes up the bulk of the army rank and file. Labor must understand how vital is the army to the defense of the nation, and throw its full enormous strength into the building of the biggest and best army in the world —in size, in weapons, in training, in morale, and in unity with the people.

Labor should take the lead in mobilizing the people to adopt the army as its own. Labor should be concerned, not only with its own members in the army, but should take patronage over, and develop warm fraternal relations with, whole sections of the army, camps, regiments, battalions (of course, under army supervision). The trade unions have begun to do this, organizing army welfare committees and conferences, dances and affairs for the soldiers, donating gifts, cigarettes, etc., to the army. All of this has had a very good effect, but it is not being done on the necessary scale. The unions should realize that to fail to do this is to shirk their responsibility, weaken the army and therefore the nation, and leave the army a prey to the treasonable influences and activities of the enemy.

For Strengthening Our Military Preparedness

Nor should labor be concerned only with the welfare of the soldiers, although this is extremely important. It should also be deeply interested in the strength of our military preparedness itself. This means that the trade unions have before them the task, not only of giving every support to selective service, but of leading and stimulating a great movement of volunteers into the armed forces. The unions must prove in practice that the most important thing at the moment is to fight for our country. Military preparation, which should be the first concern of the American people, is not only a question of direct entry into the armed forces. Labor has a vital role to play in producing the weapons of warfare. It can and must also take part in premilitary training together with the rest of the people, learning the elementary principles of warfare, rifle practice, R.O.T.C., Junior Naval Reserve, all aspects

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of civilian defense, etc. Modern war is total war and every individual in our nation has a role to play. Our whole nation must train, and it devolves upon labor, the strongest, most organized force in the country, to take the lead.

The army command, of course, has the direct responsibility for the building and training of our army. Due to incorrect past policies on the part of our government, the army had to start practically from scratch a year ago to build a mass modern army that could successfully defend our nation. Despite very great handicaps, complacency, conservative and reactionary traditions and standards, lack of equipment, lack of trained and experienced officers, and sabotage by America First agents of Hitler, an army is beginning to be whipped into shape. Drawing from the lessons of modern warfare, the army command has begun to reconstruct our army on military-progressive, up-to-date principles. This process is reflected in the maneuvers now going on, as well as in the weeding out of incompetent officers.

The army cannot be satisfied with these small gains in view of the continuing progress of the Nazi war machine. Secretary of War Stimson has stated correctly that the present army of a million and a half is the irreducible minimum. Walter Lippmann draws a dangerous conclusion when he advocates that in order to intensify shipment of war materials to the countries fighting Hitler, we should reduce the size of our army. Certainly, our present army of a million and a half can scarcely be reckoned a mass army in the light of current experiences which conclusively demonstrate that a modern army must be both a highly mechanized and a mass army. We need to double and triple the production and shipment of arms, but we also need to double and triple the size and power of our army simultaneously. Hitler can now be defeated, America can be defended only if we become not only the arsenal but also the fighter for democracy.

Economic and Social Needs of the Army

The American people cannot afford to be complacent. The many just grievances of the men in uniform must receive immediate and sympathetic attention. The enemies of democracy, the stooges and fifth columnists of Hitler must not be given the opportunity to seize upon and exploit the grievances which arise daily—and which must be speedily rectified.

A number of important obstacles are impeding the progress of the army. One is the lack of a program of systematic education as to our national policy, as to what we are fighting for. This is a new kind of army. It is unlike the old, small professional army. It is an army that has within its ranks former trade unionists, literate, educated people. Such people cannot be treated in the same way as the old army. The perfect soldier is no longer all brawn and no brains. The new army of national unity must be a well-trained and well-educated army, conscious of what it is fighting for.

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The government and the army command need to break boldly with ancient custom that prevents us from developing the most effective kind of an army.

Planned education should be developed on the national policy of our government. In Spain, for example, when the government issued its war aims, the famous 14 Points, so wide a campaign was developed that every soldier and civilian knew each point by heart and what it meant. This was achieved through classes, discussions, posters and the press. Yet when Roosevelt and Churchill issued their 8-point declaration, nothing was done to inform the soldiers as to their significance. Secretary of War Stimson spoke to the army, and the men in many camps did not even know he was on the air. A national army newspaper, dealing not only with camp gossip, but with the foreign and domestic policy of the government, should be published. America has the greatest educational facilities in the world—the movies, the radio, the press—and we should make full use of them to strengthen our army. Of essential importance are the ferreting out and bold exposure of the propaganda and activities of the Fifth Column in the armed forces. Lindbergh showed the true aim of the appeasers by resigning his commission, thus deserting the army at a time of great peril to our nation. But not all who follow the Lindbergh-Hitler line have resigned their commissions. Many prefer to continue their work of treason inside and not outside the armed forces. The nation and the army command must not and cannot, if we do not wish to risk defeat, remain silent and inactive concerning these enemies of our people. Dorothy Thompson has correctly stated: "That the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate should be headed by Senator Reynolds is worth ten divisions to Hitler. Senator Reynolds is the nearest thing to a Nazi that we have in the U. S. Senate." The informing of the enemy by Senator Wheeler that American soldiers were on the way to Iceland was definite aid and comfort to the enemy. Nothing can strengthen our defenses more than cleansing the army and public life of these agents of Hitler.

Since one of the chief problems of the army is lack of personnel, a more widespread and systematic system of promotion from the ranks would help greatly to weld the unity and strength of the army. This is an army representative of all sections of the people, and no class should be allowed to monopolize the officer corps. To permit the army to be constituted of upper and middle-class elements in the main as officers, and working people as the rank and file, is not in keeping with the democratic cause this army must defend. The authority and prestige of the officers must be unquestioned and unconditional, but it would greatly increase the confidence of the men in their command if democratic promotion were encouraged and organized.

The army should moreover take steps to improve the material conditions of the soldiers. Men who are going to give their lives for our

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country surely deserve more adequate pay than they now receive, not because Americans must be paid great sums before they will serve and fight for their country—*we will fight for our country without pay if necessary*— but because our country is rich enough to provide adequately for its defenders. Reduction of railroad fares while on leave, exemption from payment of taxes, a much improved and expanded recreational and sports program, the speeding up and realization of the impermissibly retarded U.S.O. program, are just and legitimate demands of the soldiers that deserve the support of labor and the people, and should be met by the army.

Negroes and the Armed Forces

Finally, one of the most serious problems confronting the army is that of the integration of Negroes into the armed forces. The policy of segregation and discrimination seriously weakens the army. This policy is contradictory, for this is an army built to defend democracy, yet practices the undemocratic policy of Jim-Crowism. The "explanation" of the army command for clinging to this policy is that it would be detrimental to morale to eliminate Jim-Crowism and discrimination. Events have proved on the contrary that these undemocratic practices are demoralizing and tend to disunite the army and render it less effective.

The policy of the army toward Negroes is still what it was during the Civil War and the First World War. But since then the struggle for Negro rights and equality has made great advances. Since there is no Chinese Wall between the army and the life of the nation, the question naturally arises: How is it possible for discrimination against Negroes to be broken down without detriment to morale (in fact, improvement) in civilian life, but not in the army? How is it possible for Negroes to be integrated into defense industry and government employment as a result of Executive Orders by the President, but for this to be impossible in the army? The answer is that there is no reason why like policies cannot be carried through in the army, other than reactionary tradition and custom. This naturally does not help to arouse an enthusiasm among the Negro people for serving in the army. In the interests of national unity and of releasing the great potential strength of the Negro people, and consequently of building a stronger army, the army command should initiate a policy, as the President has done in civilian life, of more closely integrating Negroes in the army and eventually eliminating Jim-Crowism and discrimination completely.

One thing must be guarded against however, namely, the elimination of Jim-Crowism in the army must not be made a precondition for support to, and service in, the army. To do this would be disastrous to the cause of Negro rights itself. The same logic could be used by workers who would say, Give me a wage increase, or I won't fight against Hitler; or by the Jew-

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ish people who would say, Wipe out all anti-Semitism before I fight Hitler. If every class or group put its own immediate interests before those of the main issue and placed its narrower demands as preconditions for support to the broader struggle, then the result would be disaster to the National Front for the defeat of Hitler.

The war against Hitler is a just war for the preservation of our hard-won gains and must be supported by us unconditionally; but equality must be fought for within the framework of the anti-Hitler struggle in order to win the war against Hitler. The history of the Negro people in America is very rich in this respect. During the Civil War, when Negroes were allowed in the army, but without pay, Negro leaders who saw the logic of the struggle said: Pay or no pay, let us volunteer! When the Civil War began, the issue did not appear to the leadership of the North as the liberation of the Negro, but only as the saving of the Union. Nevertheless, like Marx and Engels, Frederick Douglass, the great Negro abolitionist, believed and said that "the mission of the war was the liberation of the slave, as well as the salvation of the Union. Hence from the first I reproached the North that they fought the rebels with only one hand, when they might strike effectively with two—that they fought with their soft white hand, while they kept their black iron hand chained and helpless behind them—that they fought the effect, while they protected the cause, and that the Union cause would never prosper till the war assumed an Anti-Slavery attitude and the Negro was enlisted on the loyal side."

Douglass well understood the need to support unconditionally a war that was fundamentally against slavery, even though the leadership of the North did not realize this in the beginning. He knew that the very logic of the war would force the freeing of the slaves because that was the only way in which the war could be won. Douglass fought for integration of Negroes into the armed forces, for equal rights, and for emancipation, not as preconditions for Negro support of the war, but to facilitate the winning of the war and the victory of the anti-slavery forces.

Negroes have a like stake in today's war against those who would return us to slavery, a war which, as is true of every just, democratic war, must inevitably be accompanied by expansion of democracy within as the only road to victory. It is not only that democracy will take a giant leap forward after victory over Hitler; it is already expanding now, in the course of the fight against Hitler. The Executive Decrees of the President regarding the integration of Negroes into defense industry and Federal employment are a great step forward, although they still need to be fully enforced. Even more important are the first steps taken in the army toward the elimination of Negro inequality—the removal of the commander of Fort Bragg because of his responsibility for the disgraceful anti-Negro incidents

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that occurred there, the increase in the Negro military police and their arming, and the inclusion of many prominent Negroes in the Morale Division of the army. These are slight yet historic steps, for they indicate the beginning of the breakdown of the traditional army policy of discrimination. Of course, this process of democratization will not take place by itself. The role of labor and the Negro people is not to wait passively for the process to unfold, but to organize a movement for the equal integration of Negroes into the armed forces as an essential step for a united nation and a 100 per cent united and effective army, to make this fight an integral part of the supreme fight against Hitlerism.

Conclusion

The world justly admires the fighting mettle and the morale of the Red Army. When London sent a mission to Moscow soon after June 22 to assist and to teach the people of Moscow how to defend themselves against air raids, the mission stayed for a short while, and, on returning to London, stated: "We have nothing to teach the Russians —they can teach us about air defense!" The whole world is learning about and from the Red Army. In fact, no nation can adequately defend itself against Nazi aggression unless it learns from the Red Army.

What specifically, in addition to military and technical experiences, must we learn from the heroic resistance of the Red Army against the Nazi hordes? The unity of the Army with the people and the Government; the fundamental understanding on the part of each soldier, sailor, and airman—in the ranks and in the command—of the issue at stake; and the ruthless destruction of all Fifth Columnists and agents of the enemy.

The American people, increasingly alert to the deadly menace of Hitlerism, must do all in their power to guarantee that the American army will become a decisive military force, which, in direct collaboration with the fighting forces of the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain, will achieve the annihilation of Hitlerism.

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THE NATIONAL FRONT IN CANADA

BY TIM BUCK

General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada

IN THE world coalition of governments and peoples pledged to the destruction of Hitlerism, Canada and her people occupy a position of some significance. As the sole American nation that is an actual belligerent, at war with fascist Germany and her satellites; as an active associate in the British-Soviet Mutual Aid Compact; and as a partner with the United States in the Ogdensburg Joint Defense Agreement—Canada has the opportunity of making a very effective contribution in the international anti-Hitler front. And precisely because of this, the Canadian people, the working class, and the Communist Party bear the gravest responsibility for ensuring that every ounce of the nation's strength is unleashed against the ruthless common enemy. In the measure that this is achieved, the security of our country will be safeguarded; in the measure that we fall short of a total effort, our national existence, our democratic rights and possibilities of progress, will be jeopardized in common with those of all mankind. For us as for all peoples, the issues of national security and world freedom are inseparably fused together.

Outside of the United States, Canada is the only American nation having a serious war potential. The all-out mobilization of this potential, military and economic, and its most effective employment within the framework of the British-Soviet Alliance—particularly in relation to the urgent need for the opening up of a Western Front—these problems are the pressing concern of all Canadians, as they are of all Americans. Before passing to a discussion of the policy and tasks of the working class movement—the building of the National Front for the defeat of Hitler—let us survey briefly the actual extent of the Canadian military and economic war effort.

Armed Forces and Sinews of War

The armed forces of the Dominion are grouped in the Canadian Army (Active and Reserve), the Royal Canadian Air Force and the Royal Canadian Navy. The Active Army, raised through voluntary enlistment, comprises 234,000 men. It totaled 4,500 men at the beginning of the war. It will shortly have the greatest divisional strength in its history, a total of six divisions; in numerical strength, however, it

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is still well below the number enrolled in the last war. Three divisions are now in Britain, together with an army tank brigade and 50,000 other troops, including airmen. Since May 1 of this year, voluntary enlistments have totaled 75,000.*

The Reserve Army numbers 170,000 men, enrolled for home defense; of these 67,000 were called up under the compulsory training measure for service within Canada.

The strength of the R.C.A.F. now stands at 83,000 men; it is reported that 16,000 joined in September alone, this year. Under the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, whose goal is 36,000 airmen trained annually and for which Canada provides 80 per cent of the men and five-eighths of the billion dollars total expense, 93 schools are in operation, with about 100 air fields at their disposal. Our country is thus in a position to contribute considerably to the air power of the Allies, by turning out tens of thousands of fliers annually.

The personnel of the Navy numbers 25,000 (pre-war strength: 1,800). The number of ships has risen from 13 to about 300—consisting of destroyers, corvettes, minesweepers, patrol boats and other small craft.

These forces, now totaling some 512,000 men, have yet to be brought to maximum strength. The missions upon which they are employed, ranging from defense of the approaches and coasts of the country itself, and participation with U.S. and British forces in the guarding of the Atlantic causeway via Newfoundland, Greenland and Iceland, to service in the defense of Britain and in the increasingly-demanded opening of a front in the West—these tasks are subject to the coordination of plans by the Allied Command, through the British-Soviet Alliance on the one hand, and the Ogdensburg Agreement on the other. It is a matter of imperative urgency that the Canadian people exert the fullest pressure in favor of all-out implementation of the program and pledges of the anti-Hitler alliance.

In the field of war production, Canada has at her command strategic raw materials, industrial plant and agricultural resources whose value to the coalition against Hitler can be considerable. The last war greatly accelerated Canada's development as an industrial country; in this war the creation of a mobilized war industry of a diversified kind, capable of maintaining the armed forces under combat conditions, has been got under way. On Sept. 11 last, the Minister of Munitions and Supply declared that whereas two years ago Canada was incapable of equipping an infantry division, "Now Canada is producing practically everything required by a fully equipped infantry division at a rate that enables us to equip a new division every six weeks." Minister of Defense Ralston declared in London on October 14 last that Canada was implementing the Allied war effort by sending Canadian manufactured supplies, including tanks, for the Soviet Union. Supplies sent to Brit-

* These and the subsequent data are from the Report of the Director of Public Information, "Canada at War," No. 7, Oct. 1, 1941.

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ain have included "machine guns, two-pounder guns, anti-aircraft gun barrels, shells, small arms ammunition, explosives and chemicals, airplanes, corvettes, minesweepers, mechanized transport. . . ." War equipment now being manufactured in the country includes, in addition to the foregoing, items such as the following: 25-pounder guns, anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns, two and three-inch mortars, 22 types of shells, cruiser and infantry tanks. (Report of Director of Public Information).

War production has still to reach its peak; but the following figures indicate something of the expansion that is under way:

	1940 as compared with 1939	First 7 mos. of 1941 as compared with same period of 1940
	Increase	*Increase*
Industrial production	23.1%	13.2%
Manufacturing production	23.4%	11.8%
Construction contracts	84.9%	59.9%
Car loadings	10.9%	14.5%
Employment (general)	9.0%	22.2%
Manufacturing employment	16.9%	25.6%

Steel production stands 65 per cent higher than the average for 1935-38, and covers about two thirds of total requirements. The shipbuilding program, involving construction of naval and merchant shipping, calls for an expenditure of 320 millions; the number of workers in this industry has risen from 1,500 to more than 20,000. Tank production was started only last summer; the program calls for an output of 800 infantry and 1,000 cruiser tanks. Over 150,000 army vehicles have been turned out and put in service. In aircraft, about thirteen types of frame are being produced, at the rate of 40 a week; engines are all imported. Employment in the aircraft industry has risen from 1,600 (Jan., 1939) to over 30,000.

Supplies of strategic raw materials form an important part of the war program. Canada produces 83 per cent of the world's nickel, and is the source of large supplies of aluminum, zinc, copper, etc.

Apart from direct war production and supplies, drawn from the primary and manufacturing industries, an important contribution is made by Canada's farmers in the form of shipments of wheat, bacon and other pork products, cheese, eggs, fish, canned goods, etc.

Expenditure on the war program is estimated for the current fiscal year at $2,350,000,000, or some forty per cent of the national income. Close to a billion dollars of this sum goes to finance supplies for Britain.

There is no cause for complacency with regard to the Canadian war effort. The foregoing facts suggest the possibilities that lie to hand. But neither in the military nor economic fields is the maximum possible being done as yet. The desire for decisive, all-out action was manifested by the Canadian troops in Britain, on the occasion of the Prime Minister's visit. Their impatience to get to grips with the enemy is typical of the mood of the people of Canada as a whole. The putting forward of constructive proposals for stepping up production through joint production conferences with the employers by the aircraft workers of Montreal is but one significant expression of the demand that monopoly-imposed bottlenecks and obstruc-

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tions be swept aside, and the whole weight of the country's productive plant be thrown into the scales against Hitler.

Against this background of a developing democratic war effort, let us now turn to an examination of the policies that must be given effect if Canada is to play her full part in the battle for freedom.

A National Front for Victory

The changed character of the war, since Hitler's attack upon the U.S.S.R., with the changed alignment of force and belligerent aims —signalized most clearly by the British-Soviet pact and the Roosevelt-Churchill declarations — has transformed the tasks and responsibilities of the working class and the general progressive movement in Canada.

For the people of Canada this decisive change means that the issue of continued national security of their country, which depends on the victorious outcome of the world struggle to defeat Hitlerism, assumes dramatic proportions. The victory of the democratic peoples and governments over Hitler, with their continued national independence, is within grasp—providing that a supreme effort is made to win the war.

The task of the labor-progressive movement today, therefore, is to direct all its energies to the positive task of mobilizing public opinion in support of a united national effort to implement all the plans and pledges, stated and implied, in the British-Soviet pact and the Roosevelt-Churchill declarations. With the King Government associated with the governments of Britain and the Soviet Union in the British-Soviet pact, it becomes necessary that the labor-progressive movement direct its main blows against the open and secret friends of Hitler and not against the King Government.

To play its full role in the strengthening of Canada's contribution to the defeat of Hitlerism, it becomes necessary that the labor-progressive movement unite its forces and close its ranks in support of a broad united national effort to win the war.

The Communist Party of Canada urges, and will work consistently to bring about, a united effort of the trade union movement and all the forces of the labor-progressive movement, farm organizations, the Canadian Legion, Liberals, Conservatives, and non-political organizations, English and French-Canadians of all classes and parties, in support of the prosecution of the war to defeat Hitler. Such a movement will constitute in fact a National Front. Such a movement will give loyal support to every measure of the King Government making for increased support to and cooperation with Britain and the United States and for effective aid to the Soviet Union.

Such a movement will press the King Government to carry through the full terms of the letter and spirit of the British-Soviet pact, to achieve the maximum production and military effectiveness for victory, to expose and combat every expression of Munichism or fifth-column tendencies—whether among

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the open Tory opponents of Mackenzie King or in or around the King Government—to isolate and defeat the secret friends of Hitler who obstruct and impede Canada's democratic war effort, and to mobilize all possible support behind those men and those measures looking toward victory through the development of democratic activity and initiative. It will be a National Front to Win the War.

The people of Canada are profoundly concerned about the outcome of the war and the perspectives of Canada in the post-war period. The Communist Party of Canada shares their concern and gives voice to their heartfelt determination that the future of our country shall not be dominated or darkened by the yoke of fascism. In the present situation, with Canada directly threatened by the fascist menace, the first duty that confronts us all is to ensure the security of the country. Today, with literally the entire world involved in the war, with the threat of a new major front of Axis aggression being opened up on the Pacific, we must soberly face the fact that the question of what may or may not happen after the war resolves itself into the question of how we can best ensure the defeat of Hitler now.

To have a future worth living at all we must defeat the fascists' drive for world conquest. Canada must cooperate to the limit of her capacity in the gigantic effort that is required to bring about the defeat and destruction of the sinister Nazi power. That is the decisive task of today. Upon its successful performance depends the very future of Canada.

Academic hair-splitting discussion of the details of what may or may not happen in a hypothetical future situation all too often serves only to distract attention and energy away from the decisive historic struggle now raging—the outcome of which will condition the future problems, and largely determine the fate of all mankind.

All Canadians have a direct and immediate interest in the destruction of the Nazi threat. Workers, farmers and urban middle class people, whether of English or French descent, know quite well that if fascism becomes supreme in the Old World there is but little hope for the survival of democracy here. Canadians whose native homeland is in continental Europe have a triple interest in the defeat of Hitler: Their hope of freedom in Canada; the liberation of their loved ones and their native soil from the fascist tyranny; their hope of ever seeing their loved ones again or communicating freely with them; all these depend upon the defeat of Hitler. All democratic Canadians will unite, and work and fight with supreme devotion to help bring about the defeat of Hitler *now*.

A Historic Step

The Communist Party of Canada welcomes and unequivocally supports the British-Soviet Mutual Aid War Compact. That historic pact reflects and embodies the changed character of the war. It was the decisive step in the building of a coali-

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tion of democratic peoples and their governments for the defeat of the Hitler regime: as such it is of the very essence of successful struggle against fascism.

The joint Roosevelt-Churchill declaration which pledges the aid of the United States to the British-Soviet alliance marked the further extension of the anti-Hitler alliance toward a world front of governments and democratic peoples. These developments mirror the fundamental change wrought in the main purpose and dominant issue of the war and the changed political meaning of Britain's and Canada's parts in it.

The British-Soviet alliance includes Canada in its scope. Canada adheres to that pact as a self-governing state, that is to say, as an ally. The Communist Party of Canada and the Canadian people as a whole—who detest Hitlerism and are anxious to see the Nazi military machine defeated and destroyed—hail the action of the King Government in adhering to the British-Soviet pact as a forward step in the struggle against Hitler and his fascist allies. Canada's alliance with the U.S.S.R., through her adherence to the British-Soviet pact, is a significant step in the interests of Canada's security and national defense. It is a step in the best interests of the Canadian people at home, as well as in the interests of the defense of civilization.

All the forces now fighting against the Nazi machine are contributing directly toward the destruction of Hitlerism, toward the liberation of enslaved peoples, toward the defeat of Hitler's plan to enslave the earth in his "New World Order." All peoples and all governments opposing Hitler have an identity of interests in their common danger, and in their common aim to defeat the barbaric Nazi regime. That is the over-riding issue of this war. That is the supreme task of the labor movement, of all defenders of democracy, of all advocates of social progress. It is the cause and the task of all advanced and progressive mankind.

The Communist Party of Canada stands for the broadest national unity of the Canadian people in the fight against the Nazi threat. The Communist Party stands for the fullest all-out organization and strengthening of Canada's democratic war effort and pledges its whole-hearted cooperation, in unity with all the forces of the people, in every activity required to make our war effort complete. The Communist Party urges, and will cooperate in the building of the broadest possible National Front in Canada for the defeat of Hitler.

By the term "National Front" we mean a common front expressed in a common aim, of all sections and groups of Canada's people who are for the defeat of Hitler: workers, farmers, business and professional people, including sections of the bourgeoisie, of French, English and other origins, and of Communist, Socialist, Social Credit, Liberal and Tory political opinions.

Such a front, cutting across the lines of class and party interests, will not be defined by rigid organizational forms or agreements—it

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will not even necessitate formal political agreements or pacts. Support for the measures advocated by the various sections and groupings constituting such a front will not necessitate membership in any particular political party or other organization and will not necessitate leaving or joining any special organization. While committees, etc., might be set up under its auspices, the unity of such a front —the National Front itself in fact—will be achieved and maintained as a result of the identity of interest between its various sections and supporters in bringing about the defeat of Hitler and the destruction of Hitlerism. Its unity in action will be expressed in the main in the unity of its support, through the activities of its supporters and the organizations of which they are members, to those central measures which are essential to victory. The sole essential requisite for such a National Front, therefore, is the common objective: Defeat Hitler! Win the War!

The Communist Party appeals to all sections of Canada's people to join hands—members of all labor organizations, as well as members and supporters of the Liberal and Tory Parties. A National Front, supported by members and sections of all political parties, concentrating all its energy upon the winning of the war, will support every measure carried through by the Dominion government that makes toward the winning of the war. It will also put forward demands for measures which are obviously necessary to increase the effectiveness of Canada's participation and our aid to our allies. Such a front, therefore, will respond to measures and proposals rather than to party whips and party favors, or patronage. It will be at once a powerful influence in the realignment of political forces already started by the dramatic transformation of the world situation, and a decisive factor in support of the government in giving effective leadership to the nation's war effort. The King Government could—and it is not entirely excluded that it may —become the center and the leader of such a National Front if Mr. King pursues a consistent policy of increasing as quickly as possible the strength and effectiveness of Canada's war effort to the full extent of our national capacity. United in a National Front of struggle to defeat Hitler the people of Canada can play an important role in the battle of humanity.

For Canada's Security and Hitler's Defeat

The Communist Party, and every Canadian who wants to see Hitler defeated, hailed the pledge given by Mr. King, upon his arrival in London during August, that Canada "will not spare any effort that is necessary to ensure victory."

Canada's adherence to the British-Soviet pact, the endorsement by the King Government of the Roosevelt-Churchill Eight-Point Program of War Aims, the growing contribution of raw and manufactured war materials that Canada is making to Britain's war strength, the fact that upwards of 100,000 Canadian boys

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are already overseas with more preparing to follow, that Canada's naval forces are sharing tasks and dangers with the British navy on the high seas, the fact that the Commonwealth Air Training Scheme is now a vital factor in the developing British-Soviet air supremacy over Hitler's Luftwaffe, all these are achievements to be greeted.

They are not yet adequate. They are not yet complete. To measure up to the pledge given by Mr. King, Canada's war effort must be stepped up and strengthened in every sphere of activity in which Britain and the Soviet Union still need increased aid.

The King Government can step up Canada's war effort tremendously if it is prepared to give unequivocal leadership to the country. The people of Canada want Hitler defeated and they will welcome and support every measure taken by the government toward ensuring that defeat. The people of Canada want full and adequate supplies of everything necessary provided for our forces overseas and a steady increase in Canada's aid to her allies. The Communist Party of Canada unreservedly supports that position.

The young Canadians who have gone overseas to wage war against the Nazi peril, to risk their lives in the struggle to defeat Hitler, must be assured that Canada stands behind them in every way. Our deeds must say more surely than words can:

"Soldiers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, Sailors of the Canadian Naval Forces, Eagles of the Royal Canadian Air Force, Canada stands behind you without reservation and without stint. You shall be provided with the finest equipment that the modern plants and the high technical skill of Canadian workers can produce and you shall receive it in an ever-growing stream. Your personal needs shall be cared for. Your health and recreational needs shall be fully and efficiently met. The proper provision for the loved dependents that you have left at home shall be the lively concern of the entire Canadian people. New forces shall come to you in a steady and growing stream and you will be as proud of the effort that Canada is making as we are proud of the manner in which you fight."

A policy and concrete governmental measures which bespeak such an assurance to Canada's armed forces will strengthen the role of Canada in every sphere of the anti-Hitler struggle. It will strengthen the anti-Hitler alliance. It will help to make Canada an active factor in the struggle to unite and mobilize the peoples of the Western Hemisphere for active aid to the effort to destroy Hitlerism and it will make Canada a positive and important influence in helping to bring the United States fully and officially into the war.

Development of the war policy indicated above requires that the Canadian people demand, and the Dominion government put into effect, measures directed toward bringing about intimate collaboration, military, economic and diplomatic, between Canada and all her allies in the anti-Hitler alliance.

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This must be done with every ounce of Canada's growing economic and military strength thrown into the scale in the place where it will aid the general effort most effectively. To carry such policies into effect in the sphere of foreign relations and our war effort abroad requires, also, that governmental policies at home be those which coincide with the urgent needs and tremendous possibilities of the existing situation, and the aim of inspiring and mobilizing our people for an all-out united popular effort to win the war for civilization.

As a contribution toward discussion and consideration of the measures that should be put into effect by the Dominion Government, and which should be advocated and supported by the National Front to Defeat Hitler, the Communist Party puts forward the following proposals:

In the field of foreign relations and our overseas war effort, Canada's policy should be directed to:

1. Full collaboration, to the very limit of Canada's resources and capacity, with her allies associated in the British-Soviet alliance, and with the governments and people of the U.S.A., China and all other countries who stand with us in the struggle against Hitler.

Canada should establish diplomatic, economic and military relations with all countries associated with us in the war against Hitler, for our mutual advantage. Such relations would help to bring about the closest collaboration for the most effective utilization of the resources of each country in the common struggle, and would cement the solidarity of the nations in the international front against Hitlerism. Such a diplomatic, economic and military strategy of victory is indispensable.

Especially, Canada and the U.S.S.R. have a very definite identity of interests in their mutual desire to avoid war in the Pacific and their common interest in aiding each other's defense should war break out there. Of all the countries of the Western Hemisphere, Canada is geographically closest to Japan. Canada's Pacific interests, together with her membership in the Anglo-American-Soviet bloc, demand of her that her relations with the U.S.S.R. be clear and well understood by all parties. For these and other reasons, it is highly essential that Canada should at once establish full and direct diplomatic and commercial relations with the U.S.S.R.

As part of the general activizing of Canada's support of the war effort, and because Canada is as yet the only actual belligerent in the Western Hemisphere, Dominion government policy should look toward making Canada an active force in the struggle to mobilize the peoples and governments of this hemisphere to aid in the struggle against Hitlerism.

2. All necessary measures to expand Canada's war production and to increase her military and naval effectiveness.

The production of war goods in Canada must be intensified, and the full capacity of Canadian factories, mines, fields and natural resources must be thrown into the struggle for the defeat of Hitler. Particularly necessary is the coordinated assis-

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tance which can be given by Canada at this moment to the people and government of the U.S.S.R., who are bearing the brunt of the fight against Hitler in the cause of all democratic peoples. The military, naval and air strength of Canada must of course be expanded in accord with the military situation, as decided upon by the high commands of the anti-Hitler alliance; and it is obvious that no effort must be spared to increase that strength through the modernization of Canada's armed forces in consultation with the military staffs of Britain, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.

A national policy typified by such measures as these would strengthen Canada's war effort, contribute to the power of the anti-Hitler alliance, enhance Canada's role in and strengthen generally the world front for the defeat of Hitler.

The above measures are the clearly defined responsibilities of Canada to the world struggle today. To make these measures even more effective, and more firmly unite the people of Canada for their execution, the following changes in present government domestic policy are highly desirable, and the subject of demands by large sections of the population:

1. Restore democratic rights to the masses of the people.

To unleash the full powers of a democratic people and to utilize the resources of our country to their full capacity, Canada needs security in democracy at home. Confidence in that democracy is the decisive moral factor in the organizing of a maximum war effort against Hitler. Workers, farmers, professionals and small business people, and the men in the armed forces, must feel in their daily lives the democratic reality of the policies adopted and the measures enforced by the government of Canada. This means that all interned and imprisoned anti-fascists be released, and the ban removed from all anti-fascist organizations and their press.

2. Full rights for the trade unions, on the principles of collective bargaining, to enforce a living wage, and equal participation of the workers in the organization of the war effort.

Monopoly's drive for profits at the expense of the living standards of the people is hindering the war effort and helping Hitler. The government should act at once to guarantee by law the right of the workers to collective bargaining through adoption of a replica of the Wagner Act of the U. S.; and thus reduce the need for strikes and eliminate lock-outs by providing constitutional guarantees to define and enforce these rights for both workers and employers. In this way the union of the workers' choice can be designated in negotiating wage agreements. Within the framework of collective bargaining guaranteed by such an act, and in conjunction with a national minimum wage, the "cost of living bonus" principle could become a valuable aid toward stabilizing employer-employee relations and helping to maintain unbroken operations in industry. Organized labor must be represented by democratically elected spokesmen on the war boards which organize and direct our war effort.

3. Parity prices to farmers, and the production of foodstuffs to aid

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victory over Hitler; participation of the farm organizations in all government farm boards.

Action by the government is sorely needed to rally the farm population for the war effort. This can best be done by measures to organize the production of those foodstuffs necessary to our allies, and the coordination of Canada's food production with the plans of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. Parity prices, to stop the penalizing of the farmers, must be established, through the medium of government boards on which the spokesmen of farm organizations shall have equal place.

4. The Dominion government should take firm action against pro-fascist appeasers of Hitler, who strive to weaken Canada's war effort by any means, wherever they may be found.

Governmental policies which embrace the measures indicated above will unite the great mass of Canada's people in an all-out effort to win the war. The Communist Party pledges itself to support that effort with all its strength, and does not place the adoption of its own program for victory as the condition for its support. Under all conditions, it will maintain its independence of thought and action as a workers' party pledged to the defeat of Hitlerism and the defense of democratic rights and the national interests of Canada. It places the above program for victory before the Canadian people as its considered opinion as to how best and most quickly the war can be won.

It is self-evident that the measures indicated above go considerably further than the policies so far followed by the King Government. This is so because the King Government is not as yet doing "everything necessary to win the war." Its active war policy falls short, by far, of Mr. King's London pledge. The King Government has not acted to encourage the development of democratic initiative in aiding the nation's war effort. It has failed to recognize the changed character of the support which the history-making Churchill policy and the Roosevelt-Churchill Eight-Point Program and pledge have rallied. It failed lamentably to take advantage of the visit of the Soviet military mission; it has, as yet, taken no action against the widespread anti-Soviet slanders, which are also contrary to Britain's interests, and which are being used to confuse people concerning the issues and thereby weaken our war effort. The main force of its repressive activities is still directed against the anti-fascists. Mackenzie King has not even attempted to correct the anti-Soviet and anti-British effect of his being quoted as himself expressing the hope that Nazi Germany and the U.S.S.R. would "destroy each other."

These things are obvious proof that much more can be done, and must be done, to make Canada's war effort effective. It will be the task of the democratic people of Canada to press the King Government to make our national effort complete.

In doing so, however, we shall not direct our main efforts *against*

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the King Government; on the contrary, we shall welcome and give energetic support to every step it takes in the direction of more effective prosecution of the national war effort. Our main blows will be directed against the appeasers and Quislings who, by doubts, pretenses, clinging to the policies of yesterday, and spreading confusion as to issues and needs, strive to delay or slow down the government's war activity and to weaken or disrupt Canada's effort to make victory sure.

The Communist Party of Canada will support every measure and every effort of the King Government which points toward the policies indicated above; the Communist Party will advocate, and work for, the building of a National Front to Win the War, and the Communist Party will advocate and strive for the implementation of the full letter and spirit of Mr. King's London pledge in the light of Canada's important role and responsibility as a member of the anti-Hitler alliance. The Communist Party will press energetically for the strengthening of our war effort. It will give all possible support to those measures, and those men, leading Canada toward victory.

For Working Class Unity in the Fight Against Hitlerism

Organized labor, indeed the entire working class, is the sworn enemy of Hitlerism. In this new and crucial world situation the "backbone" of the unity of a National Front must be provided by the labor-progressive movement. The chief guarantee of a strong national front and achievement of an all-out war effort against the Nazi menace is a systematic and energetic struggle for working class unity.

Calling upon the workers and their allies, the farm and urban middle class people, to unite their forces in the supreme task of crushing Hitlerism, the Communist Party also calls upon them to build up and strengthen their independent organizations—which constitute the main buttress of democracy and the core of a National Front against Hitlerism.

Side by side with the task of building up and uniting the organizations of the working class there goes the task of making the voice of organized labor heard in the actual organization of production, the elimination of the glaring waste which now weakens Canada's war effort, and of strengthening Canada's contribution toward victory. It is Canadian labor's great responsibility today, through its policies, its organized strength and its own democratically chosen representatives, to aid in the formulation and strengthen the carrying through of Canada's national policies. Labor will accept the responsibility. Labor must also insist upon meeting the responsibility in its own councils and dealing with it in its own democratic way, selecting the men who are to be labor's representatives by its own democratic processes. It is labor's responsibility to ensure that nothing shall be left undone which can contribute toward the defeat of Hitler. Labor will defend its hard-won trade union rights and its

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working conditions but, while defending these rights, labor will achieve maximum war production and will steadily increase it until Hitler's armies are overwhelmed and the Hitler menace destroyed.

With the purpose of doing everything possible to build up the unity of the labor-progressive movement and to strengthen its influence in the struggle to bring about democratic national unity against the Nazi threat, the Communist Party addresses a direct proposal to the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation for a united front in the struggle to defeat Hitler.

Despite the profound differences between the Communist Party and the leadership of the C.C.F. on questions of socialist philosophy and the strategy and tactics of the class struggle, a united front of our organizations in the effort to destroy Hitlerism is possible. It is not only possible, but vitally necessary. The fundamental interests of the Canadian working class movement and the Canadian people demand that such a united front be formed now. We urge the broadest unity throughout the country of C.C.F. and Communist Party organizations, and all allied forces, around our common aim to defeat Hitler and destroy the menace of fascism.

On the same basis the Communist Party seeks to cooperate with the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, the Canadian Congress of Labor, the Federation of Catholic Syndicates, the Social Credit movement, the farmers' organizations of Eastern, Central and Western Canada, the Canadian Legion and other popular organizations of the people. Joint support by all these organizations to measures of common interest in the struggle against Hitler would immediately step up Canada's war effort and would demonstrate the immense value of and possibilities for a "Beat Hitler" National Front. Such cooperation would not, and need not, involve any question of agreement or disagreement upon fundamental political philosophy. The sole condition necessary for such cooperation is mutual willingness to join hands in joint action to further the all-out effort of the democratic peoples to bring about the military defeat of the Nazi armies and the destruction of the sinister Nazi power.

The Communist Party extends the hand of fraternal collaboration to the masses of Canadians whose original homeland was in the territories now occupied or threatened by Hitler's armies. The Communist Party appeals to them and to their organizations to join hands in a mighty united movement for the defeat of Hitler and the liberation of the enslaved peoples of their native lands.

The National Front in French Canada

The National Front for the defeat of Hitlerism can only be built on the firm foundation of unity of French and English-speaking Canadians. Reaction in Canada seeks to utilize the French-Canadian people for its own ends, in order to obstruct the full prosecution of a

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democratic war effort; it counts on keeping the French-Canadians isolated, on misleading them as to the true meaning and significance that the present war holds for all Canadians. These efforts of reaction must be, and can be, defeated.

The masses of the French-Canadian people are unequivocally opposed to the Hitler tyranny. As Canadians, they feel profound concern for the safety and security of our country, imperiled by the Hitler threat. As democrats, they are deeply and resolutely attached to their popular and national liberties, won in the battles of 1837, and menaced with destruction in the event of a Hitler victory. The National Front must include all those French-Canadian patriots — liberal, nationalist, labor—who stand for the active defense of Canada in the war, and for the defeat of Nazi Germany.

The driving force of the National Front in French Canada will be found in the ranks of the working people. The great anti-trust movements of past years, the workers' struggles against the Duplessis regime of reaction, the battles against monopoly capital for better wages and decent living conditions, have provided rich experience on which the people's forces can draw today. United labor action of English and French-speaking workers in steel, aircraft, textile, transport, lumber and other vital industries—united action of A. F. of L., C.C.L. and Catholic Syndicates—in support of the war against Hitlerism and for a democratic, all-out war program that will safeguard the people's interests—united action of the workers and the liberal and nationalist middle class; herein lies the key to the building of the National Front in Quebec.

The defeat of Hitlerism is demanded not only by the national interests of Canada as a whole, but by the particular interests of French Canada as well. Inseparable from the struggle for a fully effective, maximum war effort is the winning of wage equality for the French-Canadian workers, of full recognition for the French language in the Canadian armed forces, of adequate French-Canadian representation in the administration of war effort and in government services generally. The denial of these legitimate demands, just as in the case of the other democratic demands of the Canadian people, can only strengthen the forces of reaction and thereby impede and obstruct the maximum mobilization of the country's forces for the defeat of Hitler.

The National Front in French Canada will wage merciless war on the betrayers of the nation, those who in the name of religion or nationalism seek to give comfort and assistance to the arch-enemies of national and religious freedom. The corporatists, the defenders of the men of Vichy, the hidden friends of fascism, the slanderers of the Soviet Union and democracy, do not speak for the French-Canadian people!

The democratic masses of French-Canadian people are against Hitlerism—the tyranny which is destroying religious freedom and the rights, and the very existence, of small nations in every corner of

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Europe over which it has secured control. In increasing numbers they feel, and express, growing sympathy with the Soviet people—rejecting the malicious lies and slanders of the contemptible Quislings whose service to reaction consists in misinforming and seeking to confuse the French-Canadian people. The masses of French-Canadian people can be won away from the illusions of passive isolationism now. They will support a National Front for the defense of Canada's national security, for the defense of their general democratic interests as Canadians, and for defense of their special political, cultural and economic interests as French-Canadians. French-Canadians will fight for the decisive defeat of Hitler and the destruction of the threat of Nazi enslavement, and in that struggle French and English-speaking Canadians will learn better to fight shoulder to shoulder in pursuit of their common democratic needs.

United action! That is the need. Unity of the Communist Party and the C.C.F., unity of the trade union movement, the farm movements, and all the popular mass organizations of the workers and farming people, unity of French and English-speaking Canadians, that is the decisive need for the building up of a National Front for the Defeat of Hitler. The Communist Party pledges its every effort to bring about such unity. We appeal earnestly to all sections of the labor-progressive movement to join in this great struggle—its outcome will affect the future of all mankind.

Unity of the working class, unity of the people, in a National Front to crush Hitlerism! Such is the guarantee of victory!

Defeat the Fifth Column

Hitler still has accomplices and friends in Canada, as in all other capitalist countries. Here, as in the United States, there are groups which side with Lindbergh and welcomed his denunciation of President Roosevelt's pledge of mutual cooperation with the U.S.S.R. Here, as in the United States, there are groups who echo Lindbergh's declaration that he would rather see the United States allied with Hitler than with the U.S.S.R. Such are the elements who applauded William Bullitt in Montreal on July 12, when he sneered at the declared policies of the British and Canadian governments for full collaboration with the U.S.S.R., and expressed his hope that the Nazis and the Soviet people would destroy each other.

With cunning and devious methods, on the lines of the notorious directives of the Nazi bureau of foreign organizations, Hitler's fifth column will continue to seek ways and means of dividing Canada and frustrating our war effort. Their main attack today consists of slanders against the U.S.S.R., and the Communist Party, and efforts to "divide the war" with such crafty fifth-column slogans as "The decisive front is in the West" and "Let the Nazis and the Russians destroy each other," etc. By thus confusing the issues, spreading defeatism and anti-British as well as anti-Soviet ideas, by exploiting anti-Soviet

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prejudice, and cunningly seeking to nourish the myth that the Nazi military machine is invincible, these fifth columnists—conscious or otherwise — are committing treachery against Canada, Britain and the cause of civilization.

Their technique is the Nazi technique of dividing and demoralizing the anti-Nazi forces so that Hitler can deal with them one at a time, selecting his victim according to the strategy and interests of the fascist aggressors. It is the technique by which Austria and Czechoslovakia were betrayed and enslaved. It is the technique by which Norway, Holland, Belgium and France were rendered easy prey to the Nazi military juggernaut. It is the technique by which Hitler hoped, and will still try, to immobilize Britain, Canada and the United States while he strives to crush the Red Army, destroy the Soviet barrier between himself and Japan, bring the whole of Asia under his sway, and isolate Britain and America; to be dealt with in turn—one at a time.

The entire working class and all sincere opponents of Hitler must relentlessly expose and fight against every symptom of such fifth-column activity and its sponsors and their tools. The King Government must be urged to take action against them wherever and whenever they raise their treacherous hands—or their two-faced heads—in efforts to stab Canada in the back. Now is the time to defeat Hitler and destroy fascism; but to accomplish that it is necessary that the activities of appeasers and fifth-column traitors, upon whose aid Hitler counts, be exposed and their treachery nipped in the bud.

The Communist Party in the Struggle to Defeat Hitler

The Communist Party will give all possible support to every measure making for the defeat of Hitler. While giving loyal and energetic support to the national war effort the Communist Party will continue to develop its independent work in the defense of the daily needs and interests of the working and farming people. We shall continue to demand the release of working class leaders from prison and internment camps and their restoration to the anti-fascist movement. We shall continue to demand, and organize pressure for, the removal of restrictions which have been placed upon the workers' hard-won trade union rights. We shall continue to fight for full exercise of the right of the workers to organize and to bargain collectively for better wages and working conditions. We shall continue to demand that the rich should pay a more equitable share of the cost of the war, and to demand the restoration of full civil rights to the mass of the people, and democratic governmental procedure.

The Communist Party of Canada is dedicated to the service of the working class and the mass of the people in the struggle for social progress. Changes in our mobilizing slogans are determined by changes in the national or international situation and do not reflect any change of aim or slackening of effort; on the contrary, the change now being made in our tactical slo-

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gans reflects the fact that the decisive, immediate task confronting all those who fight for social progress today is to ensure the defeat of Hitler and the reactionary aims for which his name stands. In pursuing this task the Communist Party continues consistently to defend the true interests of the working class and the nation—just as, before the Men of Munich finally opened the doors to war in Europe, it strove to bring about the international anti-Hitler front that today, in new conditions, has become a mighty, living reality. Now, as at all times, the Communist Party bases its policy on the actual, concrete realities of a changing world, and on the immediate and long-term interests of the working people.

In proposing the establishment of a National Front in support of a maximum national effort for the defeat of Hitler, the Communist Party of Canada urges its acceptance because that is the measure now required in the true interests of the people of Canada and of all democratic people. We do not minimize the fundamental differences between the Communist Party and other political parties, but we emphasize the fact that for anyone to harp upon those differences now, or to debate the disagreements of the past, while the fate of humanity is at stake—and a united national effort in Canada might decide the issue—would mean giving aid to Hitler.

The Communist Party of Canada stands, and fights with all its energy, for the establishment of a united National Front of all those who are for the defeat of Hitler.

All-Out for a United Democratic Effort

The war to defeat Hitler is now the supreme issue before the democratic people of the world. Hitler's armies will be stopped. The Nazi menace will be destroyed, for the aroused democratic peoples will now stop at nothing short of that objective. The Soviet people and their Red Army, inspired by fiery anti-fascist conviction and a will to fight that cannot be broken by tanks and guns and dive bombers, will fight the Nazis at white heat for every foot of Soviet soil. The gathering industrial and military might of Britain, the Dominions and allied governments, and of the United States, is pledged and already joining its stream of supplies and its military hammer-blows to what Winston Churchill described as the "magnificent devotion of the Red Army." (Broadcast of August 24.)

The Nazi armies will be defeated. But, to make that outcome sure and swift, every last ounce of effort must be thrown into the struggle for democratic victory now.

The Communist Party of Canada, keenly aware of the solemn responsibility that rests upon it and every political party in Canada in this hour, will not condone or countenance any action or evasion that tends to weaken Canada's effort to make democratic victory sure, or to narrow the National Front that supports the making of such an effort.

No hesitancy or sectarian narrowness must be allowed to hinder the development of the broadest labor-progressive unity and the struggle

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for establishment of a National Front for the defeat of Hitler. Any tendencies toward sectarian narrowness within the Communist Party, any putting forward of narrow slogans or demands, or of narrow, doctrinaire conditions to other parties, are obstacles to united action and will be combated relentlessly. Speculations concerning the "practicability" of establishing a National Front, and other defeatist tendencies which tend to impede or narrow the campaign of the Party for labor-progressive unity and a united national effort are to be condemned and combated energetically. No vestige of sectarian narrowness must be allowed to weaken the effort to bring about a National Front for the defeat of German fascism.

The Canadian people, sharing today with the people of the United States the central task to defeat Hitler, follow with admiration the growing war production in the U.S.A. It will be the output by defense industries in Canada and especially the United States, together with all-out participation side by side with the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain, that will make certain of our common victory over Hitler.

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THE WAR AND THE COLONIAL PEOPLES

(Statement by the Communist Party of Great Britain)

THE war of fascist aggression is extending in the Far East, in the Middle East, in Africa. The criminal war plans of the Nazi rulers and their allies in Italy and Japan for the enslavement of the world are more and more openly directed, not only against the Western peoples and the Soviet Union, but against all the peoples of Asia and Africa.

In the Far East, Japan, continuing its war of aggression against China, has now seized Indo-China and openly threatens Thailand as a first step to further aggression through all Southeastern Asia.

In the Middle East Nazi Germany threatens Turkey, and Nazi agents penetrate Iran and other countries, while the Nazi-Italian forces press on the borders of Egypt.

The thrust of Nazi aggression through the Middle East, as well as of Japanese aggression in Southeastern Asia, is more and more openly directed against India.

The menace to all the colonial peoples is extreme and urgent. The world victory of fascist barbarism would mean the most brutal enslavement of all the colonial peoples, with a ruthlessness of exploitation and suppression far exceeding their present servitude, and the heaviest setback to all the national liberation movements.

Against this menace the victory of the world front of the peoples fighting against fascist enslavement, led by the powerful coalition of the Soviet Union, Britain, the United States and China, represents the hope of all the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the world.

The Soviet Union has always been regarded by the subject peoples of the world as the guardian of liberty and the promise of a better future. In the free union of nations composing the Soviet Union, as *Pravda* said on May 1, 1941: "the dead ideology dividing man into 'higher and lower' races has been thrown onto the rubbish heap of history."

The freedom and equality won and enjoyed in the Soviet Union by the former oppressed peoples of the tsarist empire, the assistance which the Soviet Union has given to peoples struggling for national freedom, such as the Turkish, Spanish and Chinese peoples, and the insistence of the Soviet Union on equality in foreign relations, shown by the scrapping of the old grasping tsarist treaties with China and Iran, have won respect and admiration throughout the world and brought promise and hope to the peoples of Asia and Africa. This is shown by the attitude of such Indian leaders as Jawaharlal

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Nehru who has many times spoken of the friendship which the people of India and all oppressed peoples feel for the Soviet Union.

Because the Soviet Union stands for the freedom and equality of nations, the attack upon it is the most direct threat to all the subject and semi-colonial peoples throughout the world.

And, because fascism is the cornerstone of world reaction, the subject peoples of the world cry out for its destruction.

The victory of fascism would mean the enslavement of every people in the world; it would mean the still heavier and more barbarous enslavement of the colonial peoples. The victory of the Soviet Union and all the peoples associated with the Soviet Union opens the way to advance for final liberation of the colonial peoples.

The colonial peoples are for these reasons vitally interested in the victory of the British-Soviet Alliance in this just war, even though they have still to win their own national freedom.

In the new world situation the colonial and semi-colonial peoples are conscious of the great role that they can play in winning the battle of freedom. They will understand the need for the immediate building of a great united front for the defeat of Hitler. This takes precedence over every other issue of the present moment.

The greatest responsibility lies on the British people to do all in their power to overcome the obstacles which stand in the way of the fullest cooperation of the colonial peoples in the common struggle.

For this purpose the present crisis makes urgently necessary a new approach on the part of the British Government to the peoples of India, Ireland and all the colonial peoples.

In India the release of Nehru and all political prisoners would assist in preparing the way for direct negotiations between the British Government and the National Congress in order to find a basis of collaboration in the present crisis. The present situation and the well-known attitude of India to the Soviet peoples, their recognition of the purposes of the U.S.S.R., their hatred of fascism, and their recognition that the British-Soviet alliance is a reversal of Munichism and all that it stood for and the beginning of a world front of collaboration of the peoples, provides the most hopeful opportunity for a new approach reflecting the common interests of the Indian and British peoples in the present struggle.

Similarly the ending of the economic blockade of Ireland, which has greatly antagonized the Irish people and is also dangerous to Britain's food supply, would open the way for direct negotiations between the British Government and the De Valera Government with a view to concerted measures being agreed for common defense.

In the Arab countries, the British pledge of independence to Syria, and Eden's promise to assist the formation of an Arab Federation should be implemented already by preliminary steps to assist the estab-

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lishment of governments in Syria and Iran really representing the people and chosen and supported by them. The Arab Federation, if solidly based on the Arab people and in alliance with neighboring and friendly states, can become a bastion and liberator and defense against aggression in the Middle East.

In the colonies the extension of democratic rights to give scope to the initiative of the people; the release of anti-fascist prisoners; and economic assistance should help to provide the basis for closer co-operation.

In alliance wth the people of the Soviet Union the British people are determined to win victory over German fascism. It is their vital interest to see that no reactionary policies or vested interests and past prejudices jeopardize success and that nothing impedes the fullest mobilization of all the forces of freedom.

The British people should demand that this new approach to the Indian, Irish and colonial peoples be made immediately. Such an approach will help to bring fresh and enormous sources of strength for victory over fascism, which is the common cause of all the peoples of the world.

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THE SILENT DON: AN EPIC OF OUR TIME

BY N. A. DANIELS

THE completed translation and publication in America of Mikhail Sholokhov's *The Silent Don** will serve as brilliant and additional illumination for the multitudes throughout our country who are becoming increasingly aware of the world significance of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and are evaluating the importance—to their own lives—of the cataclysmic struggle now taking place on the Eastern Front.

In our period Hitler Germany constitutes the most powerful reactionary threat to the liberties of all humanity; and the nature of the human forces now arrayed against it is symbolized and given tongue in Sholokhov's masterly reconstruction of an earlier period of Soviet history. The parallels in this great narrative are patent, and poignant to our day. The spine of the story is of all time, all men, all turbulent periods of history.

The two volumes of *The Silent Don* comprise a single narrative; they should both be read, and in sequence. The first volume begins with the start of World War I; the second ends with the final consolidation over one-sixth of the earth's surface—now withdrawn forever from capitalist exploitation—of the Soviet power. Between the front cover of the first and the back cover of the second, there moves a narrative of consummate power and of epic scope, involving a host of major characters who lived and died in Russia between the years 1914-1922. A few of these characters the reader will recognize by name; they had factual existence. The vast majority of them, both major and minor to the narrative, and though wearing the flesh of living people, are the creation of the novelist. Most, whatever their class origin and their individual fate, move through the ghastly and majestic panorama of World War, of socialist revolution, of counter-revolution, civil war and foreign intervention. The patterns of their lives are interwoven with the fabric of recent history; the narrative of their lives, as Sholokhov unfolds it in the 1,331 pages of his novel, constitute a great epic of our time.

The young author of *The Silent*

* *The Silent Don:* a novel in two volumes, by Mikhail Sholokhov, translated by Stephen Garry. Vol. I: *And Quiet Flows the Don:* Vol. II: *The Don Flows Home to the Sea.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Vol. I, $3; Vol. II $3.50; two volumes boxed $6.

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Don has restricted the geographic scope of his epic to the lands adjacent to the western boundaries of the Soviet Union. Involved here are Poland and White Russia, the Ukraine and the Don-land steppes. But from beyond this geographic milieu we hear the echoes of the great struggles of 1914-1922, throughout all Russia and the world. Standing in the foreground of this scene is a Don Cossack—Gregor Melekhov. Sholokhov is himself a Cossack of the Don, and he has confined himself to the people he knows best: the Cossacks of the Don and the Donets. His selection of a "hero" was a master stroke of creative divination; for Gregor Melekhov embodies, in terms of human personality, the contradictions that were tearing his world asunder; that still tear our own world asunder, and must in time be resolved if humanity is to move forward to a better life.

Descendants of serfs who had fled the old domain and taken up an independent life within restricted areas, the Cossacks of the Don were fiercely caste-conscious and violently individualistic. They were great fighters and horsemen, and the corrupt tsarist regime knew how to make use of them. They were flattered and granted special favors. An agricultural people in time of peace, many became rich peasants, *kulaks*. They despised the poorer peasants equally with the officers of the tsarist armies. They despised "foreigners," those they called "Russians" or "Ukrainians." The tsars deputized them as a special repressive force whenever the multi-national groups of old Russia stirred in rebellion. Hating and fearing the peasants, they were hated and despised in turn. Thus their individualism was augmented, their separation from the rest of the Russian people assured. They possessed their own traditional culture and their own *mores*.

But, in contrast, as a result of their early struggles against feudal oppression, they retained a healthy, an almost instinctive desire for independence. They elected their own *atamans*, or district leaders; they dreamed of eventual freedom from "Russia" and the establishment of an autonomous Cossack state.

The Melekhov family, of which Gregor was the younger son, were relatively rich Cossacks. Old Pantaleimon, the father, was a respected Cossack elder. Both his sons went to the German front during World War I, and earned distinction in that imperialistic conflict. Exhausted by this war, disillusioned by the senseless carnage and rebellious against oppression by their Russian officers, they were inclined to accept the February Revolution of 1917, in the hope that it would see the establishment of the autonomous republic of which they had dreamed. Many of them realized the use to which the tsarist nobility had put them, and they had no love for the Little Father. But herein they were trapped by the first major contradiction of their special caste. For great as was their desire for autonomous existence inside the new Soviet state, created by the October Revolution, their fear of the peasants and workers who had

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made the revolution was greater.

They knew that the new Soviet regime was dividing up the estates of the great landowners. They saw in Soviet power a threat to their caste privileges. Betrayed by their separatist traditions, by counter-revolutionaries within and interventionist forces from without, they became puppets of the reactionary elements attempting to overthrow the new Soviet regime. Their hatred and fear of the peasants and workers were whipped up; their anti-Semitism was inflamed; they deserted from the German front only to join the White forces of the rear and fight the nascent Red Army of the people.

In the years between the October Revolution and the eventual consolidation of the Soviet power, Gregor fought both with the Red Army and the White, most of his service being with the latter. He joined the Reds after the Revolution to fight the intervening armies of the foreign imperialisms. Later, exhausted by war, he deserted from the Red Armies and when the Soviet regime, faced by the sabotage of the *kulak* elements in the villages and in dire necessity of food for its starving populations, organized the grain-collecting regiments, he joined the "Volunteer" Army of the Whites. The "peasants" were coming to take the Cossack lands, the Cossack grain. Reactionary forces roused the Cossacks of the Don and the Donets, and these men served under their own Cossack officers—men who had risen to rank during the World War, and were military leaders without benefit of tsarist education or training. But again—when the White armies of Denikin broke through the Red front in 1921, and joined forces with the "Volunteer" army of the Cossacks, Gregor saw his own leaders displaced by the hated Cadets—reactionary officers of the upper classes. He was himself demoted from divisional to troop commander. It stuck in his craw, but for a time he contined to serve under these men. A man of normal sensibility and intelligence, he rebelled at the dissolution of the Cossack leadership, and the assumption of leadership by the despised and condescending officer caste of the Whites. He rebelled at himself and his ambiguous position. He saw that the Whites, who claimed to be fighting for the people, were plundering the people; he knew that foreign nations were trampling the sacred Russian earth; he saw that the White leadership was given over to drunkenness and debauchery; Cossack autonomy was further away than it had ever seemed; he was in the hands of men who despised him. As he led his Cossack troop, he thought, "Whom am I leading them against?" and an essential integrity forced him to answer, "Against the people."

The conflict is not easily resolved, even though Gregor becomes more and more aware of it. He thinks of the rich Cossack Listnitsky, an active White; he thinks of his friend Mishka Koshevoi, a Red Cossack, who had remained faithful to the Reds.

". . . I always felt envious of such men," he says. "Everything was

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clear to them from the very beginning, but nothing is clear to me even now. Both of them saw straight roads before them, and saw the ends of them; but ever since 1917 I've been going round and round in a circle, reeling like a drunken man. I broke away from the Whites, but I didn't join up with the Reds. . . . And at first, you know, I served the Soviet regime with all my heart; but afterwards everything went wrong. I was a stranger among the Whites, among their command; they always suspected me. And how could it be otherwise? The son of a farmer, an illiterate Cossack—what kinship had I with them? They just didn't trust me! And afterwards it was just the same with the Reds . . . and I suppose they were thinking: 'Ah, that swine, the former White, the Cossack officer, we must see he doesn't betray us.'"

For after the "Volunteer" army had been crushed at Novorossiisk in the Kuban, Gregor *had* joined the Reds and served them well and been demobilized by them, because they too couldn't fully trust him. And Gregor returned to find his sister Dunia married to Mishka Koshevoi, Red Cossack chairman of the local revolutionary committee. Koshevoi would not forgive him for having served with the Whites, and for having killed so many of his comrades. So Gregor had to flee again, and in fleeing was picked up by the last representative of counter-revolutionary rebellion — the ragged bandits who plundered the Red grain-collecting regiments and the people, and feared to lay down their arms because their crimes against the Soviets were too great to permit of pardon. He was with them until they too were crushed.

Such is the story of Gregor Melekhov, a valiant soldier and man of ordinary sensibility, who was crushed between the millstones of forces he was powerless to command, or even fully understand. A "White crow" among the Reds as well as among the Whites, he finds himself at the end of this long narrative bereft of everything he holds dear—his position in the community, his wife Natalia dead, indirectly by her own hand, through forces he himself had set in operation; his beloved Aksinia shot in their attempted escape to nonexistent sanctuary; his brother, Piotra, killed in battle; his father, dead of typhus; his mother, dead of a broken heart; his only daughter dead of diphtheria. There remains to him only his son, but he is powerless to aid or comfort him. For his conflict, as the novel draws to its terrifying close, is still unresolved. What place in such a society remains for such a man—a man who could not see "straight roads" ahead of him, or see "the ends of them"? What place remains in present-day society for such a man, for such a woman?

* * *

This is the barest outline of the tragedy of Gregor Melekhov, of countless thousands of his period, and of our own. His story is in no sense mechanical, nor is the moral drawn by the author to adorn his

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tale. It is a generalization from the observed facts of these people's lives. For throughout his enormous narrative Sholokhov displays the most penetrating insight into the lives of his people—and they move and talk with the accents of life as it is everywhere lived. Although he has, of necessity, chosen the "epic" style for his work—the role of the omniscient author who sees all and reports all—he has not criticized his characters; he has *presented* them. This is the way they are, he seems to say, and every detail of their lives gibes in every respect with the reader's personal experience. They are not commented upon; they live. They are presented with the objectivity that every honest author strives to achieve; good and bad, strong and weak, admirable and contemptible, these people display themselves to the reader—they are not "discovered," nor are they satirized.

For Sholokhov, through his understanding of his people, through his conscious identity with them as a worker like themselves, has been able to see them whole and see them true. The sort of socialist objectivity he displays has aroused the consternation of the bourgeois critics, who have been harping so long on the "one-sidedness" of Soviet fiction and criticism that they cannot understand how it is possible for a Soviet author, a Bolshevik and delegate to the Supreme Soviet, to have "got away with" a hero who is a counter-revolutionary! And their consternation has received the wittiest of all replies from Samuel Sillen, critic of the *New Masses*, who writes (Sept. 2, 1941): "Perhaps the most innocent and characteristic observation is contained in the exclamation of one reviewer that 'There isn't a line of Marxist dialectics in it.' . . . Like M. Jourdain in Molière's play, who did not realize that he was talking prose all his life, this writer swallowed 1,300 pages of dialectics without noting its presence."

For in every line of his work Sholokhov objectifies the dialectical approach to literature; the approach which sees in human life all the evidences of a continuous chain of cause and effect, an infinitely intricate but solidly interrelated and continuous fabric. He might well have taken as a rubric for his book Marx's dictum: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness." Such an approach to the understanding of human behavior permits of no cut-and-dried "explanations" or "rationalizations" of people. For Soviet art-forms (especially in fiction) have long since transcended the early formalism of the post-revolutionary writers. Soviet artists have now achieved a socialist objectivity that corresponds, through its searching and detailed understanding of the patterns of human behavior, with life itself. To a Sholokhov, a Fadeyev, an Alexei Tolstoi, a Kataev or an Avdeyenko, people are not black and white, good or bad, admirable or contemptible—*per se*. (Bourgeois criticism of socialist writing still harps on the old themes, despite the contradictory

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evidence of its senses.) There are Reds in *The Silent Don* who, if they existed in Soviet life, have long since been expelled from the Party for behavior unbecoming a Communist. There are Whites who exhibit admirable traits of decent human beings. This is, of course, a truism; yet the tables are now so turned that Miss Manya Gordon, writing in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, finds herself hoist by her own anti-Soviet pétard and now complains of the very "objectivity" whose "absence" she has been bewailing for years.

More important to socialist realism, self-criticism and the dialectical method, however, than "objective" reporting of the truth, are the penetration and understanding which make this truthful reportage possible and inevitable. In the course of the long narrative the reader begins to understand why characters like Mishka Koshevoi, Ivan Kotliarov, Valet, Ilia Bunchuk and Osip Stockman are, and remain, convinced Bolsheviks. It becomes clear why Mitka Korshunov and Eugene Listnitsky adhere to the Whites, and why people like Fomin and Gregor Melekhov can never make up their minds, fight first with the Reds and are unhappy with them; fight with the Whites, despising them, and finally end, unable to adhere to either side, but relapsing into the most degraded sort of individualism — the individualism that, despairing of all "causes," seeks surcease in sadism and debauchery, and ends in the total disintegration of the personality.

It was impossible for Gregor to identify himself entirely with the peasants and the workers who had made the Revolution. At the same time there was in him sufficient intelligence and human decency to enable him to see that those with whom he had aligned himself—the Whites and the interventionists—were against "the people," and that they despised him as the son of an illiterate farmer; and while Gregor was not entirely "for" the people, he hated that segment of society that considered him a "peasant" more than he hated the peasants themselves. This conflict, this contradiction, induced in him alternate moods of rebellion and despair, of hope and of defeat.

These alternating moods carried over to his long love affair with Aksinia, the wife of his neighbor Stepan Astakhov, and to Gregor's relationship with his unhappy wife, Natalia. The local scandal which had attended his incipient affair with Aksinia forced his father, Pantaleimon, to marry Gregor off to Natalia, the daughter of the wealthy Cossack Korshunov. He never loved her, but he felt sorry for her. She tried to commit suicide when she learned of his relationship with Aksinia, and he felt still sorrier for her. He left Aksinia when—during his long absence at the front and the death of their child—she yielded to Eugene Listnitsky, and he had two children by Natalia. But the memory of his first and only love always returned to him, and when Natalia ultimately accomplished her death much later, he returned to Aksinia, desiring to drown the conviction he now possessed that his

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life was empty and meaningless; that his activities as a soldier—for the Reds as well as for the Whites—were futile. There was nowhere else for him to turn, and when Aksinia was killed in their flight to "safety" from both the Reds and the Whites, he was, to all intents and purposes, killed with her.

Yet much earlier he had come close to understanding. "Well," said his chief of staff, Kopylov, ". . . don't you believe in applying science in military matters?"

"Yes, I do. But that's not the main thing in war, brother."

"Well, what is, Pantalievich?"

"The cause you're fighting for," says Gregor, wiser than he knew.

The dilemma of Gregor Melekhov is the dilemma of all confused individuals caught up by forces deeper than they are capable of understanding. Their incapacity to understand stems from the social forces that have made them what they are, and within the framework of their confusion and their ignorance, they erect elaborate rationalizations for their behavior and their opinions, categorically entering upon action that cannot be defended from any objective point of view.

The analogy immediately arises between the character of Gregor, and the "great divided souls" of the grand tradition of the 19th century Russian literature. Is Melekhov the Soviet counterpart of the tortured souls who dominate the great creations of Dostoievsky, of Chekhov, and of Tolstoi? Is he a new Prince Mishkin, another Raskolnikov? The answer is an emphatic No. For one thing, he is a man of action, and the hallmark of these great psychological creations was their common inability to act. In addition there is an essential honesty in Melekhov's actions; he does not torment himself; he is confused. And his confusion stems from the particular position he occupies within the framework of his society—a society in the throes of a new birth, in the maelstrom of the greatest social upheaval of all time. A large part of his nature yearns for the new society that he feels, almost instinctively, contains the answers to the problems of his people. The powerful influence of his family's economic status, the residue of his traditions and his training restrains him from wholehearted allegiance to the new society in birth. And the powerful urge toward the new makes it impossible for him to give undivided fealty to the old. Yet the best part of his nature strains toward "Aye-saying"; the smaller part toward "Nay." He is no introvert, impotently contemplating his soul's division and stripped, thereby, of the possibility of action.

There is room, for that matter, for a further volume about Gregor Melekhov, despite the fact that he is close to total destruction as a personality when he returns home at the close of the second volume. There is reason to believe that he will have to take his punishment at the hands of the people for his crimes against the people; and that punishment might well be death, for he deserves it. Yet there is also room for his rehabilitation at the hands of the people, for it is precisely this hard core of integrity

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within him that would make such rehabilitation possible. It would be interesting to know whether Sholokhov were writing that further volume.

For Gregor Melekhov has permanent interest as a universal figure of a type both old and new. Old in the sense that human inner conflict is as old as man; new, in that this particular conflict is called forth by and exists within the framework of a new conflict—the conflict between moribund capitalism and nascent socialism.

The universality of this great work of art stems from the objectivity that comes ready to the hand of a writer who has lived almost all his life within the framework of a Soviet society. Sholokhov might have been a highly endowed creative artist wherever he had been born, but the circumstances of his life since, as a child, he witnessed the Revolution with his own eyes, and later participated in the construction of the new society, constituted the best sort of ground for the development of his indivdual genius. As a writer, he has indisputably been deeply influenced by Tolstoi and other novelists in the great tradition of Russian literature. As a man, he was a school-teacher, a statistician, a food inspector, Red Army man, *Komsomol* (Young Communist League member), a functionary in his native party district committee, a delegate from his district to the Supreme Soviet of his native land. In all these occupations, in all his activities as a farmer, writer, lecturer, and now reporter of the war on the Eastern Front, he has maintained his close identity with the people from whom he sprang, his love for them, his understanding of their problems and their aspirations. He is in frequent demand at factories and workers' cultural centers, where he reads his works in process and discusses them with his audience.

This sort of identity with his source-material, this *fusion* with both his characters and his readers facilitates the achievement of objectivity in conception and execution that makes for verisimilitude to life. As a simple proof, one need only compare that infamous scene in Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*—where the Loyalist townspeople massacre the local fascists—with the comparable scene in Sholokhov where the Cossack townspeople massacre the Red prisoners. Hemingway, within his lights, is an endowed artist who ostensibly aspires to speak for the people. He strives for the "truth," for "objectivity." He learned in Spain that, with the outbreak of the fascist rebellion, the people in some instances wreaked bloody and instant vengeance on their oppressors. He *had* to tell this, in his novel, because it was "the truth." Yet truth, without a frame of reference, frequently becomes a lie; and the fact that this particular scene in *The Bell* is unrelated to the narrative, is by far the most vivid scene in the novel, is not counterbalanced in any comparable sense by comparable scenes of fascist brutality (which far outweighed, both in extent and in purpose, any Loyalist "atrocity") completely warps the objective

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truth of the righteous cause of Spain. This is bourgeois "objectivity"—an isolated truth becomes a major distortion.

In the Sholokhov scene we understand, from what has gone before, why the people have been misguided to the extent of torturing defenseless Red prisoners. We see the forces behind their sudden outburst; and, more important, we understand their immediate contrition, and what they have learned from their actions. Their actions are not unrelated to the narrative but are prepared, explained in context, have antecedents and consequences.

Thus, throughout Sholokhov, the truth of the Socialist Revolution emerges from innumerable details and despite innumerable isolated instances of Red "inefficiency," "bureaucracy," "stupidity," and human weakness. Seen even through the eyes of an objective counter-revolutionary — Gregor Melekhov— the truth of the October Revolution, its historic necessity, its inevitability, become plain to any honest human being. This is the difference between one form of objectivity and another — between the bourgeois "truth" and the Marxist dialectic. This way of looking at life, this body of knowledge that is our inheritance from the great progenitors of the scientific method, enables the Communists to grasp and tell the truth—by the same token as the words of the prophet: "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

The truth is being revealed these days on the Eastern Front, in every dispatch from the Soviet Union, in every motion picture they make, in various degrees in every piece of critical or creative work that comes to us from them. And throughout the world the people are learning that truth—the reasons for the "surprising" Soviet resistance; the reasons for the "unexpected" Soviet efficiency; the reasons for the "astonishing" Soviet morale. And this truth—revealed in fragmentary form in periodicals of small circulation, in novels of wide appeal, in dispatches that tell only part of it, in inferences drawn from all of it—shall yet make free the world.

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THE LIFE STORY OF A WORLD FIGURE—

JOSEPH STALIN

A SHORT BIOGRAPHY

This authoritative life story of Joseph Stalin, leader of the Soviet Union and of the Bolshevik Party, provides the best general account of the practical and theoretical contributions made by Stalin to the success of the October Revolution of 1917, and to the subsequent building of socialism on one-sixth of the world.

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